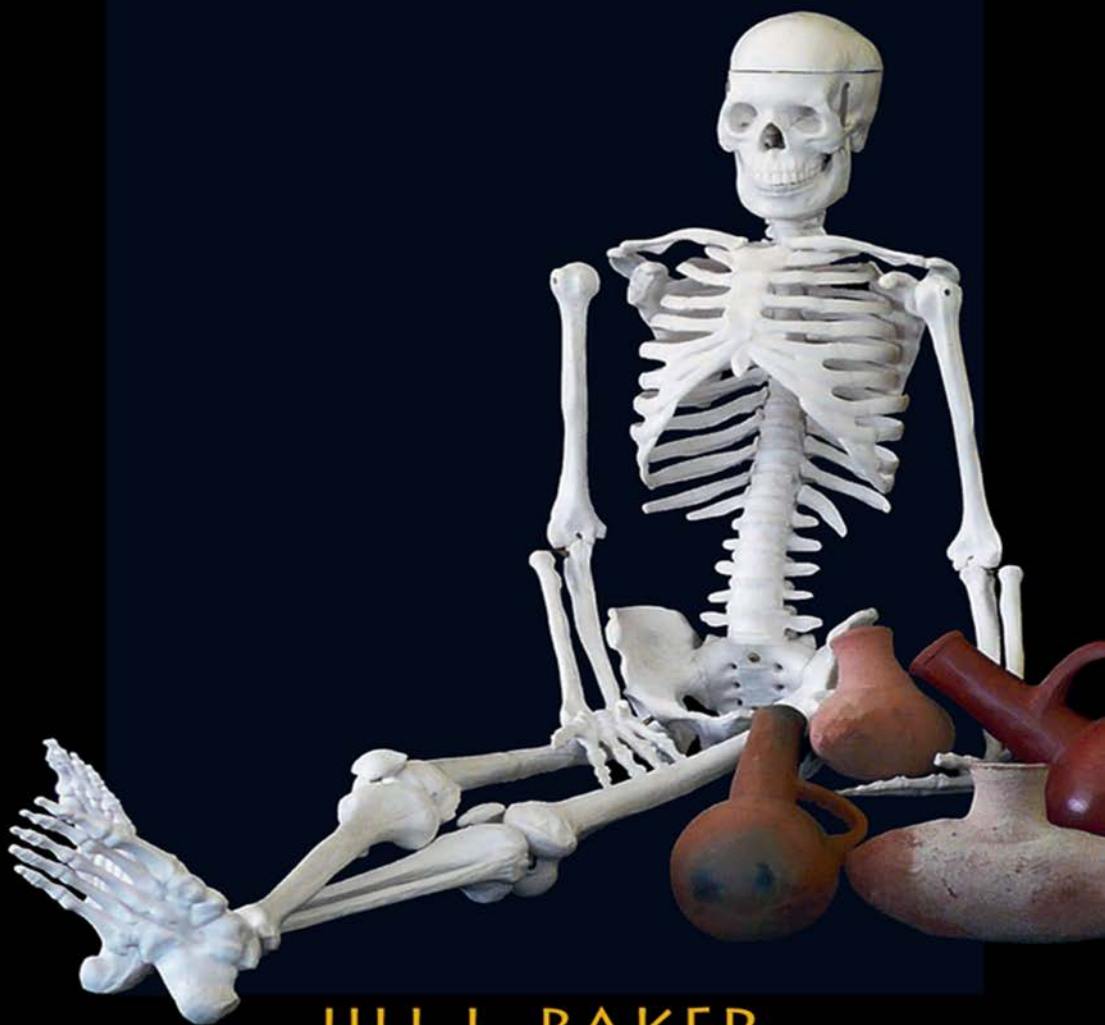


THE FUNERAL KIT

Mortuary Practices
in the Archaeological Record



JILL L. BAKER

The Funeral Kit



*This work is dedicated to my
parents and to my husband, John.*

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Chapter I

Introduction



In the course of reading published reports about excavated tombs, the interpretation of mortuary architecture, and associated grave goods, it occurred to me that while much has been learned about ancient mortuary practices, considerable gaps in our understanding remain. Until now, attention has tended to focus primarily on mortuary variability, the differences that occur among burials, which is an approach often used to identify cultural, social, and economic aspects of the tomb occupant(s). This approach assumes that cultural and socioeconomic factors such as the wealth, status, and the persona of individual community members determined the variations present among their interments. Such variations include grave type, tomb architecture, grave goods, gender, sex, and age. For example, tombs boasting elaborate architecture and decorative elements appear to have been owned by an individual or family of high socioeconomic standing, one that could afford to build and maintain such a structure. Additional factors include energy expenditure—how much (perceived) effort was invested in the construction of the tomb structure, the funerary ceremony, and the quality and quantity of the grave goods. It is assumed that a high measure of energy expenditure is indicative of the high socioeconomic standing of the occupant(s) within the community, either as an official, a leader, or a prosperous business person (Binford 1971; Parker-Pearson 2005; Richards 2005; Saxe 1970; Wason 2004)¹. Other indicators of social standing may include health, diet, and skeletal markers of heavy physical labor. These variations and differences among burials have been

the primary focus when defining and interpreting mortuary practices in Bronze Age Canaan. Determining the socioeconomic disparities of the deceased, however, seems to address only part of the ancient mortuary puzzle. The evidence of repetitive patterns found among contemporaneous Bronze Age burials in Canaan reveal similarities, which I propose should be viewed with equal significance. It is curious how the literature only briefly mentions and largely ignores mortuary uniformity and the commonalities among and between burials. These patterns of similarity deserve greater attention and may offer the missing pieces that will help complete the picture of the mortuary puzzle.

Accordingly, I have taken a different approach when interpreting tomb architecture, the use of interior space, and grave goods by focusing on patterns of similarity among interments in the chamber tombs (single and multiple interments) of Bronze Age Canaan. When comparing interments, both inter and intratomb, the patterns seen suggest that the information being conveyed was more than simply the social and economic conditions of the deceased. Certainly, a celebrated individual such as a king or high official may have received a tomb with more grandiose architecture and more elaborate grave goods than ordinary individuals; however, the vast majority of undistinguished burials, and even those of celebrated individuals, exhibit observable patterns that are specifically notable in the repetition of certain items among grave assemblages in Bronze Age Canaan. During the course of my research, it was the repetition of ceramic types, scarabs, and toggle pins in Canaanite burials that caused me to reconsider traditional interpretations of grave goods. This mortuary uniformity led me to believe that certain items reveal ritual and ceremony rather than socioeconomic rank and persona. Indeed, some items do reveal a person's socioeconomic standing or profession, while others are of a more personal nature revealing individual qualities or gender. However, these objects are often unique to a particular individual and may not necessarily be repeated in exactly the same way for another person, attesting to that individual's unique characteristics and distinguishing him/her from others.

Conversely, those items that were repeatedly deposited with each person regardless of rank within the community suggest routine practice, rite, ritual, and ceremony. The components of these relatively predictable assemblages fit into the category of essential grave goods, because they provided something essential to the well-being of the deceased and are referred to here as the funeral kit, which is the

focus of this study. The funeral kit, then, is a relatively predictable set of grave goods—including ceramic and nonceramic items—that was repeatedly deposited with most contemporaneous burials. The presence of the funeral kit offers insight into the beliefs of the interred and those who performed the funeral ceremony and burial relative to the needs of the spirit and afterlife scenarios. Many ancient afterlife scenarios involved a perilous underworld in which beings and deities seek to impede the deceased's journey to a happier, safer place in the eternal realm. In such cases, the family would outfit the deceased with the equipment necessary to sustain their wellbeing throughout their journey and upon arrival and beyond. The presence or absence of the funeral kit and the components that comprised it is the archaeological indicator for these developing beliefs and evolving afterlife scenarios.

It has long been held that the occupants of these multiple-burial, chamber tombs, owned by a kinship group, were probably members of the upper class. It has also been assumed that the placement of individuals in the tomb at the time of burial was dependent upon available space (save for high-ranking individuals). Older interments whose flesh had decayed either in part or in whole were often pushed aside to make room for new burials, making placement in the tomb seem random and contributing to the mix of skeletal remains and grave goods frequently found in them. In some instances, archaeologists have concluded that this seemingly chaotic jumble prevents the identification of the ownership of specific grave furniture, resulting in the majority of deposits being analyzed collectively rather than individually and so producing artifact tallies and statistics that reveal little useful data. Upon closer examination, it is possible in many cases to disentangle the intertwined mass and identify the final interment(s), clusters, and/or individual burials. Of particular interest are burial clusters, which are made up of multiple individuals irrespective of age or sex. This apparent clustering, together with textual references referring to the importance of being buried with one's kin, caused me to re-examine the long-held belief that interments were deposited in the tomb on the basis of available space alone. It is more probable that these clusters were not indiscriminate and may represent the deliberate organization of the smaller family units within the larger clan who owned the tomb. Clusters appear to occur in specific zones within the chamber, and the additional assistance of architectural features such as niches, probably helped define that family's space within the tomb.

The recognition of status, rank, privilege, gender, and so forth (mortuary variability) in the archaeological record, specifically in the mortuary setting, has become relatively straightforward and has contributed to a better understanding of social relationships and hierarchy in complex societies. In death, much as in life, one's socioeconomic position is reflected by the tangible property that was deposited with the burial, such as personal possessions (grave goods) and house of eternity (tomb). Since personal possessions, and in some cases architecture, tended to be unique to individual burials (or groups), certain conclusions can be drawn. Luxury items, such as ceramics, receptacles for commodities, jewelry, and even clothing indicate not only the social and economic standing of the individual, but also the intracountry and international commerce and trade relationships of that community. The implication of long-distance trade suggests a certain amount of interaction between peoples of different nations and the exchange of ideas. Incorporating imported items in the mortuary setting suggests these items had become integrated into society and were highly valued commodities. The burials of celebrated individuals such as kings, officials, warriors, priests, and well-to-do merchants reveal the types of occupations that were highly revered. Those of prestigious occupation often received tombs with elaborate architecture, grave goods of a specific type (e.g., weaponry for a warrior—engendered items), greater quantity and quality, and probably a funeral ceremony that would include greater pageantry. Certainly the death of these high-ranking individuals would be felt not only within the family but also within the local and wider community too. The unique celebration of an individual's life (mortuary variability) would not only honor the personal attributes of the deceased but also enable the surviving family members and the community to cope with their loss by providing a funeral, burial, and tomb commensurate with their position in life and their contribution to society.

Recognizing ceremony in the archaeological record, specifically in the mortuary setting, is as straightforward as recognizing status. Within the same context mentioned above, there are also tangible objects that accompany many if not all contemporaneous burials within a tomb, necropolis, community, or cultural group (mortuary uniformity); however, these objects do not speak to the unique status, occupation, or character of an individual(s). Instead multiple interments who receive the same (or very similar) object or set of objects suggest that something is shared, reflecting a degree of equality among the recipients.

This sort of uniformity reveals repetition of action, which, in turn, reveals ceremonial behavior. Ceremony is inextricably intertwined with rite and ritual, which are tools that help to explain natural occurrences, maintain social order, provide a sense of belonging within a community, and transform a person or community from one state of being or understanding to another (C. Bell 1997; Turner 1969). Rites, rituals, and ceremonies are events that may be celebrated either publicly or privately and may be social and/or religious occasions. They usually involve leaders, members, and aspirant(s) who participate and witness prescribed formulae that include liturgies and actions that are preformed in a similar fashion over and over again. Thus, a rite is the transformative social, moral, religious, or political concept that causes a person(s) or community to move from one state into another. Ritual is the mechanism—the prescribed formula—by which the transition occurs. While the ceremonial aspect is the public, outward expression of the rite and the mechanism by which the ritual is performed, it announces to the wider community that a transition has occurred. The funerary ceremony, then, is the outward expression of mortuary rite and ritual and the repeatedly deposited prescribed sets (essential grave goods) are the artifactual evidence of these invisible obsequies. The performance of these prescribed formulae is both consistent and unaffected by socioeconomic status, and it is this quality of “sameness” that contributes to the mortuary uniformity found in the archaeological record, even in the midst of mortuary variability. Therefore, the interpretation of burials is a two-tiered integration; it involves socioeconomic status intertwined with prescribed rite, ritual and ceremony, through which valuable information about the life of the deceased is revealed.

Recognizing this two-tiered integration is important not only for archaeologists who analyze Canaanite burials, but also for all archaeologists who excavate and interpret burials. It is important to acknowledge that in much of the ancient world, the secular (social, economic, and political), the ceremonial, and the spiritual (not necessarily in a religious sense) aspects of life were integrated and embraced on a daily basis. Although much of the modern world separates “church” and state, the ancients did not. The religious or spiritual world was just as real and immediate as politics and business. The secular aspects of life are better understood because there is more tangible proof of them: nation-states, palaces, houses, commodities, and texts. Conversely, the ceremonial aspects of life are less well understood because these are

ethereal concepts, which the ancients understood but did not necessarily write down; however, they are tangibly represented by obscure objects such as figurines, vessels, paraphernalia, and architecture such as temples. To understand the ceremonial aspects of ancient life is to understand the glue that held society together as families, communities, cultural groups, and nations. It was the rites, rituals, and ceremonies that imposed and legitimized social order, providing a sense of belonging that bound the members of a community—society—to one another (C. Bell 1997; Moor and Myerhoff 1997). In the same way that secular laws impose order and bind the public aspects of society, so too do ceremonial traditions impose cultural, moral, and spiritual order, which bind a community in a deeper ethereal sense. Careful excavation and interpretation of burials can reveal both the secular aspects of life as well as its ceremonial dimensions.

Earlier reference has been made to the patterns that can be observed about grave goods when comparing Canaanite burials in a necropolis or within multiple-burial tombs; some objects are unique to each burial while others are deposited repeatedly, sometimes in quantity, with all or most burials. Those objects that are unique reveal information regarding the deceased's persona and socioeconomic status. Those objects, or set of objects, that are common to most or all burials within a community or cultural group reflect rite, ritual, and ceremony. Careful examination of these sets, referred to as a funeral kit, identifies them as the tangible and artifactual evidence for ceremony in Canaan; however, similar sets and patterns may be observable in burials beyond Canaan. In Canaan and beyond, the funeral kit could consist of combinations of one or several vessels (ceramic, glass, wood, baskets), amulets (scarab, ankh, crystal, cross), garments, headdress, or implements (coin, mirror, or key). Vessels in the funeral kit may contain food and drink, representing either a portion or remnant of a meal, and commodities such as oils, perfumes, unguents, etc. Amulets often possess powers and qualities that protect the spirit itself or represent the protection of the spirit by a deity as it makes the journey into the next world and provides ongoing protection once it has arrived. Items such as coins may be necessary to pay ferrymen (Greek) or gate keepers and mirrors may ward off evil spirits (Etruscans).

By way of example, easily recognizable components of the funeral kit in Egypt are the canopic jars, which were often placed inside a canopic chest and deposited in the tomb of the deceased. During the

mummification process, the stomach, intestines, lungs, and liver were removed and each placed into a separate jar. The stomach was placed into a jackal-headed jar, Duamutef a deity of protection who represented the east and protected the deceased from hunger and thirst. The intestines were placed into a falcon-headed jar, Qebehseneuf represented the west and was also a god of protection. The lungs were deposited into a baboon-headed jar, Hapi who represented the north and protected the throne of Osiris in the Underworld. The liver was put into a human-headed jar, Imseti who represented the south. All four were sons of Horus and considered to be protectors of the organs housed within their own jar, because the deceased would need these organs in the afterworld (Budge 1989; Ritner 1997). When found in the mortuary setting, this component of the Egyptian funeral kit represents customs and beliefs that were essential to the survival and well-being of the spirit and bound that community together as a cultural group. Essential grave goods that comprise the funeral kit are the tangible culmination of the ceremonies that expressed the rites, rituals, and beliefs behind them. All items in a funeral kit are considered to be in some way essential to the survival and well being of the spirit both for its journey into the next world and in the life beyond.

In as much as the funeral kit represents a specific moment in time, namely the invisible funerary ceremony, it also reflects culture-specific, afterlife scenarios. Each culture's funeral kit reveals details that pertain to their afterlife scenario. The very presence of essential grave goods that are meant to provide sustenance, protection, payment for passage, and anything that has to do with the well being of the spirit, are indicative of what sort of supernatural care or peril awaits the deceased. For example, the Mesopotamians and Egyptians also provided food stuffs for the dead at the time of burial and during regular festivals, suggesting that the deceased required an ongoing supply of sustenance, that was not provided by an afterworld deity, and which may not necessarily have been cultivated by the deceased in the afterlife. As another example, the previously mentioned placement of vital organs in canopic jars in the Egyptians' afterlife scenario suggests the expectation of bodily rebirth in the next world, wherein these vital organs would once again be necessary to a living body. In a third example, the placement of a coin with the deceased is consistent with texts and vase paintings that refer to the payment of Charon (Greece), the ferryman who provided passage for the deceased across the rivers Styx and Acheron as

they journeyed into the underworld. As afterlife scenarios evolved, the quantity and type of grave goods reflected those changing details. For example, as Judaism embraced an afterlife wherein Yahweh cared for the dead, fewer, if any, grave goods were deposited with the deceased. Similarly, with the emergence of Christianity and an afterlife wherein God provided for all the needs of the dead, essential grave goods were reduced to one or more crucifixes and perhaps anointing oil. Thus, in the archaeological record, in the same way that some grave goods can identify chronological period, international trade relationships, and socioeconomic status, certain objects can also identify rite, ritual, ceremony, and afterlife scenarios, which were basic rights available to all irrespective of socioeconomic status. These concepts will be more fully developed and supported with detailed archaeological examples in the chapters that follow.

This work will focus primarily on Bronze Age Canaanite mortuary practices. Specific attention will be given to grave goods in general and essential equipment in particular. The focal point will be on mortuary uniformity, on that which binds rather than divides, as a reflection of rite, ritual, and ceremony. Additionally, related subjects, such as burial clusters, use of interior space, and afterlife scenarios will be explored so as to present a well-rounded understanding of the way(s) in which the ritualistic aspects mortuary practice bound families and communities together. The Canaanites did not live in a vacuum, nor were they the only ancient people to develop complex mortuary practices. This being the case, it is equally important to understand the mortuary traditions of the peoples with whom the Canaanites may have had contact, so as to compare and contrast customs and the exchange of ideas that contributed to the unique nature of the Canaanites mortuary traditions. To do so, the mortuary traditions of neighboring cultures, both contiguous and distant, from contemporaneous as well as earlier and later chronological periods, will be integrated and woven throughout the fabric of this work. The main focus of the extra-Canaanite mortuary practices will concentrate on tomb architecture and grave goods, specifically the essential equipment.

The first priority, however, is to establish a foundation from which to begin a discussion of the above-mentioned topics. The next chapter will present a summary of mortuary practices and analyses that have already been established by archaeologists, anthropologists, textual scholars, and historians. The observations and interpretations of

these scholars have contributed greatly to our current understanding of mortuary practices in Canaan and in the surrounding ancient world. Consequently, it is essential to acknowledge and summarize the relevant portions of their work so as to formulate a launching point for furthering the mortuary discussion. Chapter three will discuss the identification of and model for the funeral kit, the essential equipment that provided for the well being of the deceased in Bronze Age Canaan and focus on a description of the methodology used to identify the funeral kit at the site where it was first observed and so establish a case for its use. The fourth chapter will take the funeral kit model out of its original setting and apply it to contemporaneous sites in wider Canaan. In doing so, the widespread use of the funeral kit as a well-established, Canaanite funerary tradition will be demonstrated, concurrently proving the model was not just a one-time phenomenon at a single site.

Thus far, the discussion of the funeral kit will have been based on a well-established tradition in the height of its popularity; however, its origin and termination will have yet to be discussed. Chapter five will attempt to answer those questions by identifying when the tradition began, track its development, explore when and why it fell into decline, became redundant, and finally disappeared. Although the funeral kit model was based on Canaanite tombs and traditions, in theory application of the funeral kit model should be universal. The sixth chapter will remove again the funeral kit model from its Canaanite context and apply it to other tombs and burials found in different geo-cultural locations where mortuary uniformity has been observed. In so doing, the universal nature of the funeral kit model can be tested. In chapter seven, I will integrate the theory with the data by reviewing the archaeological evidence presented in the preceding chapters. The chapter will also introduce some additional data and discuss the archaeological evidence as it relates to the various interpretations of status and the funeral kit theory previously described. The final chapter will weave together the multifaceted nature of tombs, burials, ceremonial customs, and afterlife scenarios to offer a coherent picture of the binding force of funerary practices in the ancient world.

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Chapter 2

The Archaeology of Death and Burial: Established Interpretations, Terminologies, and Definitions



The burial of the dead would seem to be a simple and obvious process. However, in reality it involves a complex and multifaceted undertaking arising from cultural tradition, societal obligation, religious requirement, and familial responsibility. Despite its complexity, receiving a proper burial in the ancient world was crucial, just as it is in ours today. Although largely invisible, some of the complexities may be revealed in tomb architecture, grave goods, and the corpse itself. For decades, archaeologists have been excavating and interpreting tombs and burials from Bronze Age Canaan. Among these, multiple-burial, chamber tombs have been the most challenging to excavate and interpret. Nevertheless, in an attempt to understand and explain ancient mortuary practices, archaeologists have developed theories and notions based largely on tomb architecture, the artifacts found within, and the placement of corpses within the tomb. Before proceeding with a focused discussion in relation to the funeral kit, it is necessary to review past scholarship in regard to specific, selected subtopics within the overall study of Canaanite mortuary practices as they pertain to the funeral kit. The purpose for such rehearsal is twofold: to provide background for those not familiar with the mortuary practices of Bronze Age Canaan

and their academic interpretations and to establish a firm foundation upon which to build the funeral kit model. The topics selected for review in this chapter were chosen because they relate directly to subsequent discussions as the book unfolds. Offering a summary here will make for a fuller and more meaningful discussion in the chapters that follow. To that end, this chapter will examine the following topics: the use and purpose of multiple-burial, chamber tombs; grave type and tomb architecture; grave goods in general; scarabs and toggle pins as grave goods; the afterlife; funerary ceremony; rite, ritual, and ceremony; banqueting; the *marzēah*; feeding the dead; gender; and kinship.

Use and Purpose of Multiple-burial, Chamber Tombs

Larger chamber tombs capable of housing multiple burials, sometimes consisting of several generations and hundreds of interments, developed from smaller, single-chamber tombs that typically held one or several burials. The smaller, single-chamber tombs (sometimes double) with just one (or several) interment(s) generally offer a clearer picture of mortuary practices in terms of orientation, position of the body (flexed or supine), and the items that comprised the assemblage of grave goods. It is often thought that these single burials focused more on the individual rather than the collective kinship group, the way larger, chamber tombs did. Understanding the use and purpose of multiple-burial, chamber tombs, as opposed to single-interment, chamber tombs, will provide background for historic analyses and interpretations of Canaanite mortuary practices and establish groundwork for subsequent discussions on the identification and interpretation of mortuary uniformity.

The advantage of the larger chamber tomb was its ability to accommodate multiple interments for successive generations over a long period of time, giving rise to a dizzying entanglement of human remains and grave goods. Initially, this chaotic mixture of human remains and grave goods led most excavators to conclude that the retrieval of useful information in regard to individual burials was too difficult, and consequently, few attempts were made to associate grave goods with individuals or to determine the relationship of those interred (e.g., Megiddo Tombs). This approach, in general, resulted in long lists of vessel and material culture, typologies, and bottom line tallies upon which assumptions were made regarding ancient activity both within the tomb and among the community (e.g., wealth and international trade).

Concurrently, excavators of tombs that yielded fewer intertwined burials were better able to record details such as orientation, the position of the body, location within the tomb, associated grave goods, and when possible, age and sex (e.g., Petrie at Tell el 'Ajjul). Later, excavators learned to identify what appeared to have been the final interment(s) in the tomb (e.g., Kenyon at Jericho). These were usually given careful attention and recorded meticulously. The final interment(s) within a chamber usually experienced little postdepositional disturbance allowing for less obstructed observance of the burial's position, orientation, location within the tomb, sex, age, and associated grave goods (Kenyon 1960, 1965; Maeir 1997). The data gathered from final interments could then be applied to the disentanglement of the remaining burials in the tomb.

Based on the large number of interments some tombs contained, it has long been held that multiple-burial, chamber tombs belonged to a family or larger kinship-based group (Cooley 1983; Cooley and Pratico 1994a, b; Schloen 2001; Stager 1985). Additional support for this notion stems from numerous textual references that discuss the importance of being buried with one's family. Although written at a slightly later period, certain phrases in the Hebrew Bible appear to reflect earlier Canaanite traditions and sustain this assumption. Phrases such as being "gathered unto one's fathers/people" (Genesis 25:8, 35:29; Deuteronomy 32:50; Judges 8:32, 16:31; 2 Samuel 21:12–14, 1 Kings 2:10, 11:43, 15:8), or to "sleep" or "lie with his fathers" (Genesis 47:30; Deuteronomy 31:16; 2 Samuel 7:12; 1 Kings 14:31; 2 Chronicles 12:16) appear to refer to burial in a family tomb with one's deceased family members. The desire to be buried with one's family is vividly illustrated by the death of Joseph's father in Egypt who, at his request, was transported back to Canaan for burial in the family tomb (Genesis 23, 50:1–14). On the other hand, an individual's punishment for wrongdoing could be denial of a proper burial with one's family, referred to as being "cut off" from one's kin as in I Sam 24:21 (see also Brichto 1973). Thus, one purpose of a chamber tomb was to provide an enduring space wherein several generations of deceased members of a kinship group could be housed.

Extrapolating from archaeological and textual evidence, activity within the multiple-burial, tomb chamber was repetitive and predictable and may have included the following scenario. Once the body was prepared for burial, it was transported to the tomb, placed inside, and then appropriately arranged. Once the corpse was situated, grave goods

including toiletries, tools, weapons, seals, and ceramics containing food and drink were positioned on the floor around the corpse. Upon completion, the door was fixed into place, sealed, and the access shaft may have been filled with stone and rubble, sealing it as well. On the occasion of another death, the family reopened the previously sealed tomb and identified space for the new interment. If necessary, earlier interments and associated grave goods would be pushed aside to create space for the additional corpse. In some instances, removal of the previous burial seems to have been performed haphazardly, without concern for the welfare of the individual who had previously been laid to rest in such a loving manner. Such cavalier action may have been due to the perception that decayed flesh symbolized the spirit's completed journey into the afterlife resulting in disinterest in the skeletal remains and accompanying grave goods (Cooley 1983; Cooley and Pratico 1994b; Kenyon 1960; Schmidt 1996; Scurlock 1995; Xella 1995). Then, as with the previous interment, once the new burial was complete, the door and shaft were sealed. Additional burials were placed into a tomb as long as space provided. Once the tomb was full, it was ceremoniously sealed and no longer used (Maier 1997). With this type of repetitive, long-term use, it is not surprising that many multigenerational, chamber tombs contained a complex entanglement of human remains and furnishings. The importance of family burial is evidenced not only by textual references but also by the scores of multigenerational, chamber tombs that have been found in Bronze Age Canaan (e.g., Megiddo, Lachish, Tell el-'Ajjul, Tell el-Far'ah South, and Tell el-Far'ah North).

The tomb functioned both as a way-station for the spirit as well as domicile for the physical remains. The spirit inhabited the tomb temporarily while making its journey from this world into the next; decomposing flesh represented a journey in progress and decarnated bones symbolized the completed journey. It has been suggested that libations were offered to the deceased during the transitional period; however, once the spirit had passed into the afterlife, libations and other offerings were required only on certain festival days (Cooley 1983; Cooley and Pratico 1994b; Schmidt 1996). Even though the decarnated corpse may have symbolized a completed journey into the next life, it is clear that "ghosts" required routine long-term care as is well attested throughout the ancient world, a matter that will be discussed at greater length below. An additional function of the tomb was to serve as a portal through which the dead and the living could maintain communication.

The ancestors' constant need for regular nourishment meant that surviving family members had to provide it; this was a responsibility typically assigned to the eldest son. In other regions for example, required offerings were made to the ancestors at regular intervals and were deposited in or near the burial place or in a mortuary chapel associated with the tomb (for examples from Egypt, see Richards 2005; for examples from Mesopotamia, see A. Cohen, 2005). In Egypt, family members and friends communicated with the dead seemingly on a regular basis, sometimes by writing letters or enlisting the services of a medium to express grief, ask for guidance, fertility, benevolence, or for insight into future events (cf. Egypt, e.g., Richards 2005; Wente 1990; Digital Egypt for Universities). In Canaan, similar festivals and communication with ghosts, sometimes via mediums, may have been commonplace. For example, although later, Saul's experience with the Witch of Endor (1 Samuel 28:3–5) may reflect earlier Canaanite practices.

The tomb's purpose, then, was multifaceted. It provided a practical place for disposal of a decaying corpse, serving as a temporary domicile for the spirit, as a portal between this world and the next, and as a place where the dead could receive rations from surviving family members. It is equally important to note that family burial grounds and ancestor worship may have served as a means of denoting land ownership and boundaries, which legitimized the family's "genealogical rights of ownership" and inheritance (Bloch 1975; Keswani 2004; Lewis 2002; Porter 2002; Saxe 1970, 1971; Schloen 2001; Schmidt 1996; Stager 1985). For example, Joshua's grave was located on the ancestral estate within the borders of the *nahala* (Genesis 23:9, 20; Joshua 24:30, 32; Judges 2:9; I Kings 2:34).

Grave Type and Tomb Architecture

The architectural features of tombs, both internal and external, have been traditionally interpreted as markers of social status, wealth, sex, and age (Binford 1971, 1972; Morris 1987; O'Shea 1984; Saxe 1971; Tainter 1978; Trigger 1989); the more elaborate the tomb, the greater the socioeconomic standing of those within. It is assumed that rock-cut, chamber tombs (single or multiple interments) belonged to individuals or families of high status and great wealth, because their construction and maintenance would likely require a certain economic commitment available only to the prominent and affluent. For example, Petrie

considered a built tomb at Tell el-‘Ajjul, consisting of a gabled roof, stepped dromos, and large limestone slabs lining the walls to be that of a governor (Gonen 1992; Petrie 1933). Conversely, simple cist or pit graves are interpreted as having been those of lower economic classes or even migratory or nomadic peoples (Gonen 1992). Interior features of rock-cut, chamber tombs (specifically multiple interments), such as niches or platforms, are assumed to have been utilized to separate celebrated individuals from the ordinary. For example, Kenyon (1960, 1965) interpreted the placement of individuals on mud brick platforms in Tombs H6 and J14 at Jericho, as illustrative of those individuals’ special social status. Others have suggested that grave type may have been commensurate with age as demonstrated at Dan where built tombs and cist graves contained children from two to twelve years of age and jar burials contained infants and children up to two years of age (Ilan 1996:253). Additionally, certain tomb types and architectural features have been considered by some to reflect foreign influence or presence (Gonen 1992; Waldbaum 1966). Architectural features considered to be foreign include a long, stepped dromos and benches around the chamber’s walls (e.g., Sarepta, Tell el-Far‘ah [South], and Tell el-‘Ajjul), rock-cut tombs with niches or *loculi* (e.g., Tell el-‘Ajjul, Lachish, Tell Dothan, and Megiddo), bilobate tombs (e.g., Tell el-Fa‘rah [South] and Lachish), and structural or built tombs (e.g., Megiddo, Dan, and Aphek). Additionally, larnaxes, ceramic coffins, and anthropoid used to house the corpse have been considered by some to denote foreign influence or presence (e.g., Gezer, the Persian Garden near Acco, Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh, Tell el-Far‘ah [North], and Deir el-Balah). Thus, the traditional interpretation of the chamber tomb’s overall architectural form appears to be one of wealth and the high social standing of the family who was presumed to have owned the tomb. While grave type and tomb architecture (both external and internal features) may have served as differentiating variables among interments, separating celebrated individuals from ordinary, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, based on associated essential grave goods, that is the funeral kit, will serve as a binding factor.

Grave Goods in General

Grave goods offer an intimate glimpse into the lives of the individuals with whom they were buried. When grave goods are analyzed, they

can be separated into three categories: personal, status, and essential (Binford 1972; O'Shea 1984; Parker-Pearson 2005; Shay 1983; Wason 2004). Personal items define the nature of one's persona and may include jewelry, toiletries, game pieces, and perhaps favorite possessions. Status items identify wealth, social rank, or profession and might include luxury items, imported goods, weapons, seals, or the tools of one's trade. Essential equipment consists of objects necessary for a proper burial and the well-being of the spirit such as food, drink, perfumes, oils and unguents, amulets, and burial garment(s). Most, if not all, grave goods were deposited with the understanding that the deceased would in some way want or need these items in the next life.

Traditionally, grave furniture has been viewed as an artifactual indicator of wealth and social standing revealed by the quantity, quality, and place of manufacture of the items. A person whose funerary assemblage was high quality and included imported luxury items in large quantities is assumed to have been of high socioeconomic standing. This interpretation assumes that only a person, or family, of great wealth could afford to be buried with such extravagant items, thereby representing society's inequalities inside the tomb. The quantity, quality, and location of grave goods have also been associated with sex and age. For example, certain items have been engendered and assigned to sex-specific categories; arrowheads, daggers, and spearheads are presumed masculine and therefore buried with males, while spindle whorls, needles, and beads are presumed feminine and therefore buried with females. More will be said about this below under "Gender." Children under a certain age were usually accompanied by a smaller quantity of grave goods, though they were still afforded a provision of foodstuffs, even if it was a smaller portion. Similarly, it has been widely recognized that essential equipment, such as food, drink, oils and unguents (all of these contained in bowls, juglets, jugs, or jars), clothing and, to some extent, amulets were crucial to the well-being of the deceased, not only to provide the basic essentials for the deceased but also to prevent him/her from haunting the living. Some have alluded to the ritual and ceremony that probably stood behind the burial and grave goods (Ilan 2002:99, 101; Hallotte 2002:108–109); although until now, the quantity, quality, and typology of grave goods and the implications of their characteristics appear to have been the main foci when interpreting the meaning of grave goods in Canaanite tombs and burials.

Scarabs

Scarabs were among the grave goods found with Canaanite burials, especially those of the Middle (MB IIB–IIC) and Late (LB I–II) Bronze Ages. Because these were found in such quantity, it is clear that they were integral to Canaanite funerary tradition. Not only does the presence of scarabs suggest that they held special meaning to the Canaanites, but also that there was an exchange of ideas and cross-cultural adoption and adaptation of a symbol (Goodenough 1988), indicating that the scarab was essential to the well-being of the deceased.

Scarabs were utilized in Egypt as early as the First Dynasty, becoming popular in the Middle (ca. 2040–1650 BCE) and New (ca. 1570–1070 BCE) Kingdoms (Andrews 1994; Richards 2005). To the Egyptians, the dung beetle, after which the scarab is fashioned, was a symbol of self-creation, rebirth, and regeneration (Andrews 1994; D. Ben-Tor 1991). When worn as an amulet, the scarab transferred the dung beetle's powers to the wearer. Initially, the dung beetle was venerated because of its habit of rolling dung balls, which served as either food or an incubator for young dung beetles. This observed action caused early Egyptians to identify the beetle as the creature who moved the sun across the heavens on its daily journey from east to west, under the earth, and back again, rising on the eastern horizon each morning (Bishara 1978). Regenerative traits were also ascribed to the beetle, because when dropped to the ground, or when attempting to escape danger, the beetles "feign death" (Bishara 1978:92). Once danger passes, the beetle comes back to life, resuming its business. This behavior may have prompted the Egyptians to believe the beetle possessed the ability to rise from the dead (Bishara 1978). Perhaps the most mysterious habit of dung beetles was that of reproduction. According to Plutarch and Horapollo, the Egyptians believed that all dung beetles were male, symbols of a warrior race (Bishara 1978). It is now known that male and female dung beetles mate underground, out of sight. When the female is ready to lay her eggs, she prepares a ball of dung in which to lay them. The dung ball is constructed very slowly and deliberately, but, unlike the feeding ball, it is pear-shaped rather than spherical. When complete, she transports it to a safe underground location where the eggs are inserted before burying it in the sand (Bishara 1978). This ball, then serves as an incubator and a constant source of food for the developing larva, kept warm under the sand. When the young beetles hatch, they seem to

materialize from the sand without ever progressing through the usual reproductive and growth processes, as if they magically appeared from the ground fully grown (Andrews 1994; Ben-Tor 1991; Bishara 1978). For these reasons, the Egyptians attributed the magical qualities of life, spontaneous generation, and rebirth to the dung beetle, and translated its powers into scarab-shaped amulets, which were worn around the neck, on the wrist, or as finger rings (Aldred 1971:160–161).

The earliest recognizable scarab-shaped amulets thus far discovered in Egypt date to the Badarian period (ca. 4100 BCE) and to the First Dynasty (ca. 3100 BCE) (Andrews 1994). All of these were found in funerary contexts, suggesting their significance both for this life and the next. The dung or *hpr*-beetle was associated with the deity Khepri, “he who came into existence by himself,” who was a “form of the primeval god Atum” (Ward 1978:44). Amulets were “carried about by the wearer in order to gain magical benefits from it, apart from any material use” (Petrie 1914:1) and scarabs were assumed to give the wearer “magical protection” (Andrews 1994:6). Amulets were worn throughout life for their apotropaic qualities; upon death amulets were taken into the tomb for use in the afterlife (Andrews 1994) as it was assumed these good-luck charms would protect them against misfortune and catastrophe even in death. Petrie devised five categories for the use of amulets; however, the main purpose of amulets was the psychological effect on the wearer, providing “confidence and self reliance,” helping the wearer to feel as though he/she was in some way fortified and guided through the dangers of life without faltering or fear (Petrie 1914:2). Thus, amulets could take the form of animals, such as the dog, bull, or lioness; and the powers that those creatures possessed were magically transferred to the wearer, giving him/her strength and courage (Andrews 1994). With powers such as these, one can easily understand why scarabs became popular, even accompanying their owners into the next life. In fact, in Egypt, scarab amulets were buried with the dead because the magic of the amulet ensured the spirit’s life in the next world (Ward 1978).

Egyptian scarabs were elaborately carved so that the back and sides represented the dung beetle. The bases, however, were carved with designs and mottos that invoked the names of deities and popular pharaohs. The artist very carefully represented the clypeus, head, prothorax, elytra, and legs in the elaborately carved back and sides (Andrews 1994). Other amulets, could resemble animals such as monkeys, antelopes, fish, lizards, lions, crocodiles, flies, dogs, cats, and frogs, to

name a few. The bases of scarabs were carved with even greater variety, but with equal intricacy. Their use as good-luck amulets, and the variety of symbols used to communicate lucky mottos, was extensive. The bases of most Egyptian scarabs contain blessings or good-luck formulae such as “A good day,” “A mother is a truly good thing,” “Golden life,” “With Amen-Re behind (you) there can be no fear,” “May Mut grant a long lifetime,” and “May the god be content with all I have done” (Andrews 1994; D. Ben-Tor 1991). The bases of some Egyptian scarabs used hieroglyphs in pseudo cartouches, or configured signs in a nonsensical arrangement or in a split mirror image, giving the appearance of readability, while really being just decorative. Others simply contain ornamental designs such as cross patterns, scrolls, spirals, and concentric circles. Egyptian scarabs were crafted from a wide variety of substances. Stone, both nonprecious and semiprecious, was the most utilized material of the scarab craftsman, including steatite, limestone, amethyst, lapis lazuli, crystal, jasper, hematite, feldspar, and, occasionally, gold. Others were fashioned in faience, while others were of ivory, wood, and glass (Aldred 1971; Andrews 1994; D. Ben-Tor 1991; Lucas 1962).

Because they are abundant and often mention the names of pharaohs, it is tempting to try to determine the date of scarabs and apply it to the archaeological context in which they were found. However, to do so is naive, especially if the hieroglyphic groupings were derived from pharaohs’ names, which were frequently worked into the slogan on the base. As early as Petrie, scholars recognized the difficulties involved in trying to date these scarabs because they were often kept as heirlooms and because the designs commonly reuse certain pharaohs’ names, sometimes for many generations after their deaths, because of their imputed magical qualities (D. Ben-Tor 1991:5–6).

In Canaan, scarabs were utilized during the MB IIB–IIC and LB I–II, underscoring the strong economic relationship which existed between Canaan and Egypt (Ben-Tor 1997, 2007). Scarabs have been found at sites such as Ashkelon, Tell el-‘Ajjul, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), Hazor, Lachish, and Jericho, to name a few. The stylistic differences between Canaanite and Egyptian scarabs may have to do with the Canaanites’ understanding of the Egyptian craft, the meaning of the scarab, and hieroglyphic symbolism. According to Ward (1978), Tufnell (1984), Keel (1995) and Ben-Tor (1994, 1997, 2003, 2007), the stylistic features of the carved sides and backs of scarabs can provide important

chronological data. These scholars have analyzed the stylistic features and have divided them into chronological types for both Canaan and Egypt. D. Ben-Tor's most recent research reveals that Egyptian scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate periods and Levantine scarabs from the MB IIB–IIC Bronze Age can be dated, and she has established a chronological framework by which to identify the date and origin of scarabs based on their designs, updating the earlier work of Tufnell (1984), Ward (1978, 1987), and Ward and Dever (1994).

Many would classify scarabs as personal objects,² especially given that the message of the design on the base probably reflected something of the owner's character, or as status markers since scarabs often functioned as seals. However, the regularity with which scarabs were deposited with burials, without regard to gender or age, suggests their function was multifaceted and their meaning intrinsic to the well-being of the owner. No doubt the apotropaic qualities that the scarab and its design provided the owner in life, continued to do so in death. It is not surprising, then, that the Canaanites would have considered the scarab to be an essential component among their grave goods.

Toggle Pins

Like the scarab, toggle pins were also frequently found with Canaanite burials. They were usually found on or near the shoulder region or the waist of skeletons. The main function of toggle pins were to secure the closure of a garment on a body, hence indicating the corpse was clothed or shrouded at the time of interment. Although somewhat ambiguous for the Canaanites, by way of comparison it is known from later time periods (Iron Age to Roman) and from other cultures (Greek and Roman) that washing, anointing the body with oils, herbs, perfumes and dressing it was a vital part of the funerary rite and ritual (1 Samuel 28:14; Matthew 27:59; Mark 15:46, 16:1; Luke 23:53; John 19:39–40; Garland 2001:23–25, 138–139; Toynbee 1971:44). The washed, anointed, and clothed corpse then lay-in-state while mourners paid their final respects prior to interment, known to the Greeks as *prothesis* (Garland 2001:23–31; Toynbee 1971:44–45). Due to the climate in Canaan, most textiles did not survive; however, the toggle pins did, which attests to the once present garment or shroud. The toggle pins, then, represent the intimate act of preparing the corpse for burial, a vital role in the funerary rite and ritual and therefore an important part of the funeral kit.

Toggle pins were worn by both men and women. Reliefs on wall paintings in Egypt and Syria depict three types of commonly worn garments. One is a cloth skirt worn only by men, which could have been secured around the waist by a sash or held in place with a pin. The two other garment types were worn by men and women alike. One consisted of a piece of cloth draped over one shoulder and secured by a toggle pin, leaving the other shoulder uncovered. The other was a cloth that covered both shoulders and was secured by two pins, one for each shoulder (Irvin 1997). Two types of pins were used to secure the garments: the toggle pin, prominent throughout the Bronze Age, and the fibula, utilized during the Iron Age and later. The basic design of toggle pins included rounded tops tapering to pointed needle-like bottoms. They were most commonly made of metal but were made from bone and ivory as well. Metal pins were usually bronze, silver, gold, and electrum, though bronze was used most frequently. In general, toggle pins measured from approximately 3.3 cm to 25.0 cm long and were only a few millimeters thick (Henschel-Simon 1938; Irvin 1997).

The pins could be decorated elaborately, simply, or not at all. The decorated area commonly extended from the top of the pin to the threading hole or “eye,” which was generally at or near the middle of the pin. The area from the hole to the point was usually not decorated as it would be embedded in the cloth it secured. Decoration consisted of incised bands, raised ridges, bulbous knobs, or just a simple ball on top of the pin. Use of the toggle pin was very straightforward. The sharp point was passed through the garment as far as the hole, and another puncture was made from inside the cloth to bring the point out again. A string could be attached through the hole and passed around the exposed parts of the pin, around the cloth that was held by the pin. This secured the cloth in place. A secondary function of the toggle pin was as a place from which to hang one’s cylinder seal. One end of a cord would be passed through the eye and the other through the cylinder seal. This way a person’s seal was readily at hand (Gruber 1995).

To date, the most detailed study that has been made of toggle pins is the work of E. Henschel-Simon (1938). In her article, she discusses the possible origin of toggle pins and the viability of tracing cultural groups based on the pins’ decorations. Perhaps her most significant contribution was in establishing a toggle pin typology. According to Henschel-Simon, some of the earliest toggle pins to appear in Canaan can be associated with the arrival of the “Hyksos (who) brought this

new feature with them from the north” (Henschel-Simon 1938:176). However, excavations since this article have shown that toggle pins were used earlier, in the Early Bronze IV period (hereafter EB IV; also Intermediate Bronze Age) in Canaan, at Ugarit, Byblos, and Qatna (Gerstenblith 1983:94), and in Mesopotamia in the Early Dynasty III period (EDIII) (Sass 1997:240). Henschel-Simon’s typology was mainly based on schematic differences; however, “no proper chronological development is attributed to the sequence of these subdivisions” (Henschel-Simon 1938:173). Though, some types do seem to occur only in the Middle Bronze II (MB II) and Late Bronze Ages (LB), as opposed to the Iron Age (IA). She suggests that the second millennium pins from the Levant were based on third millennium prototypes from Mesopotamia and that pins from Byblos, Hamman, Laipithos, Troy, and Megiddo had a central place of manufacture from which the toggles were shipped (Gerstenblith 1983; Henschel-Simon 1938). Clearly further analysis and research into the typology, chronology, manufacture, and origin of toggle pins must be undertaken.

As with the scarabs, toggle pins are usually classified as personal items.³ They are usually viewed as jewelry or personal adornment. However, given the regularity with which toggle pins are found among burials, they too appear to possess a multifaceted role in the mortuary arena (e.g., at Jericho, Kenyon 1960, 1965; at Megiddo, Guy 1938, Loud 1948; at Lachish, Tufnell 1940). Aside from personal decoration, their function was to secure a garment onto the body of the deceased. As part of the mortuary ritual, washing and dressing the corpse were essential and intimate acts performed by the closest female members of the family.⁴ The presence of toggle pins and textile fragments reflect this aspect of the mortuary ritual. As a result, toggle pins are considered to be a component of the funeral kit.

Afterlife

To the ancient mind, death was a natural progression from one state of being to another; however, the perception of the afterlife, the way in which one arrived there and one’s daily existence in that world, was largely determined by the beings and deities who inhabited it. The grave goods that were deposited with the deceased were meant to outfit him/her for the afterlife, providing the essentials necessary for a successful journey into the afterlife and for a happy existence in eternity. Knowing

culture-specific, afterlife scenarios provides some insight into the reason certain items were placed with the dead. Since there is little written evidence for the Canaanite's afterlife scenario, examples from neighboring peoples may provide some insight.

In Mesopotamia, for example, ghosts resided in the Below or in the Underworld, which was located not too far beneath the earth's surface where the tomb acted as a portal between this world and the next (Bottéro 2004:105–110; Davies 1999:54–55; Scurlock 1995:1886–87; Segal 2004:96;). Much of what is known regarding the physical attributes of Mesopotamia's afterlife is couched in terms of architectural references of the interior features of palaces, temples, house-temples, and so forth. Rivers, fields, and sheep also exist in the Mesopotamian Underworld; however, they differed from those in this realm (Horowitz 1998:348–362). Humans were originally created by the Mesopotamian deities to be their servants and remained subservient to them even in the afterlife. To get to the Underworld, one had to make an “arduous journey across a demon infested steppe” (Scurlock 1995:1886), cross the Khubur River with the help of Silushi, aka Silulim the boatman, and successfully pass through the seven gates (Scurlock 1995:1886; Segal 2004:95). To assist their journey, living family members equipped the deceased with food, drink, clothing, offerings, and gifts for the deities; if royalty, then transportation was provided (Scurlock 1995:1884). There were seven walls, seven gates, and seven gate keepers, which served as filters, permitting entry to only the virtuous and preventing the deceased from leaving. At any one of the seven gates, the deceased could be denied entry as a result of unresolved issues at the time of death or because of an improper funeral or burial. Once at the seventh gate, the individual would have surrendered all possessions (Segal 2004:95). The Netherworld was illuminated by the sun god Shamash whose daily visit was part of his regular cycle. Further, the Mesopotamian Netherworld was perceived as a place to which one's spirit had to journey and gain entry. It mirrored this world with all of society's social complexities at play (Buttéro 2004:105–110; Scurlock 1995:1887).

In another example, the Egyptian's view of the afterlife was equally, if not more elaborate, comprising beliefs and practices that evolved over thousands of years. To the Egyptians, death was inevitable, but it was not the end of one's existence. In the Netherworld there was renewal of life in the form of a bodily resurrection (Lesko 1995:1763; Te Velde 1988:34), Death could either be friendly or adversarial (Te Velde 1988:27) and

all who entered the afterlife were judged in the Hall of Two Truths or the Hall of Judgment of Osiris. A lifetime of good deeds reaped reward and evil deeds, punishment (Lesko 1995:1768–1769; Silverman 1997:132; Te Velde 1988:30). To arrive in paradise, one had to embark on a potentially perilous journey resulting in a paradisiacal existence if successfully navigated. Navigating one's way through the dangers of the Underworld to reach paradise could be difficult. A person's spirit could be destroyed by hostile serpents, demons, or doorkeepers unless they knew the spirit's name (Silverman 1997:132). To aid one's journey, guidebooks were available as well as magical spells to ward off danger and provide instruction for proper conduct and rhetoric in order to gain entry into heaven (Kanawati 2001:36–40; Te Velde 1998:). Having successfully passed the tests and navigated the journey, the person would then become an aspect of Osiris, deity of the Underworld. Although the deceased retained their individual human characteristics and personality, they also received divine status and power (Silverman 1997:133). The Egyptian afterlife was considered to be a paradise-like reflection of life in the Nile Valley, which has been vividly depicted in some tomb paintings. Although paradisiacal, it remained necessary to equip the deceased with worldly possessions and foodstuffs and to continue provisioning the deceased with sustenance forever (Davies 1999:29–35; Kanawati 2001:40–43; Oakes and Gahlin 2007:391; Segal 2004:43–48). To that end, mortuary chapels were erected, and tomb paintings and grave goods ensured eternal provisioning.

These oversimplified summaries of Mesopotamian and Egyptian afterlife scenarios offer a glimpse into worlds that the living would one day inhabit. Like their neighbors, the Canaanites believed that death was inevitable and that the spirit continued to exist in another realm. Much of what is known of the Canaanite afterworld has been gleaned from Ugaritic texts such as the Tale of Aqhat (Ginsberg 1969; KTU 1.161, KTU 1.6.6.45–49; 1.113; Lewis 1992). At the time of death, an individual's soul or *npš* left the body to live in a gray, shadowy world in the kingdom of Mot (death) below the Earth. In the Canaanite afterworld there was no judgment, no punishment, and no reward for the good life one led. Instead it was an unpleasant world where everybody shared the same gloomy existence in a dusty shadowy world void of optimism or paradisiacal continuation (Xella 1995:2063; Segal 2004:114). To arrive there, the deceased had to embark on a journey, which is presumed to have paralleled the struggle between Baal and Mot described in the Baal

Epic. In this scenario, in order to enter the afterworld, the deceased must traverse a pass demarcated by two mountains. This passageway is dangerous, and the deceased must not get too close to Mot, who has an insatiable hunger for humans. If Mot swallows someone, that person is annihilated forever. Baal's role was to retain power and victory over Mot by temporarily surrendering and descending into the throat and belly of Mot and subsequently resurrecting himself (Segal 2004:114; Xella 1995:2064–2069).

As a result of this triumph, Baal restricted Mot's powers and limited what he could do to the dead, thereby reducing their suffering. Baal came to be seen as the healer and savior of the underworld, yet he did not grant resurrection to the deceased. Although he protected the dead from Mot, they still maintained a shadowy existence in this world. The other Canaanite deities who also inhabited this world seemed "indifferent to the fate of humans" (Davies 1999:48) and were preoccupied by their own desires (Tale of Aqhat recounted in Xella 1995). Since the deities of the Canaanite and Ugaritic afterlife were busy attending their own needs, save for Baal, humans were left to fend for themselves in an afterlife where there was no promise of reward or bodily resurrection, just a shady place where the spirit dwelt for eternity. Because of this, the care and feeding of deceased relatives became an essential service not only for the survival of the deceased in the afterlife but to ensure their benevolence toward surviving relatives (Davies 1999:47–50; Segal 2004:113–115; Xella 1995). Although their existence may have been bleak, the deceased were considered beneficent entities possessing powers of healing, wisdom, fertility, and redemption (Xella 1995). Nevertheless, their benevolence required constant persuasion (Davies 1999).

Early Hebraic burial customs, material culture, and notions of the afterlife were much like those of the Canaanites. As Israelite society developed its mortuary practices, their perception of the afterlife developed as well and became distinct from those of the Canaanites. This aspect of afterlife scenarios will be important after the Canaanite development of the funeral kit is examined in subsequent chapters. As monotheists, the Israelites were required to focus on one God, Yahweh, and to avoid activities such as consultation with the dead or ancestor worship (Thompson 1908:1–2, 9–14; Deuteronomy 18:9–12; 1 Samuel 28; 1 Chronicles 10:13; Isaiah 8:19; Leviticus 20:27). Paradoxically, the dead, or the rephaim, were considered to possess certain powers and could adopt either a benevolent or malevolent attitude toward the

living. The dead were also considered to possess insightful wisdom and could be consulted by the living (1 Samuel 28; Schmidt 1996:267–273; Xella 1995). Initially, the rephaim maintained a shadowy existence in Sheol, which was void of any deities, including Yahweh (Thompson 1908). Later, beginning around the 7th century BCE, Yahweh came to be seen as the God of life, delivering the rephaim from a desolate existence to a resurrected, everlasting spiritual life (Isaiah 26:19, Ezekiel 37:1–14; Daniel 12:2–3; Johnson 2002:218–227; Xella 1995). The early notion of Sheol as an eternal shadowy existence may have been a bleak prospect. It was a place to which one descends or “goes down” into (Lewis 2002:183–185), making the contemporaneous Canaanite notion of Baal as healer and savior much more appealing. With this in mind, Yahweh’s offer of a resurrected, everlasting spiritual life may have been superior.

The Funerary Ceremony

Funerals are as beneficial for the living as they are the dead. The funerary ritual, from the preparation of the corpse to its burial, not only equips the dead for their journey into the next world, but also enables the survivors to begin to cope with their loss. These obsequies remain largely invisible; however, the grave goods, specifically the essential ones, provide tangible, artifactual evidence for them. Understanding the activities that took place during the funerary process helps to explain the reason certain items were deposited with the deceased and vice versa. As with the Canaanite afterlife scenario, insight into these invisible activities has to be gleaned from the parallels of contemporaneous as well as later peoples.

The funeral is a rite of passage believed to transport the deceased from this world into the next and to transport the survivors from one reality to another (i.e. continued life without the deceased). This occurred in three stages: separation from a former status, transition, and incorporation into a new status (van Gennep 1960; Schmidt 1996:5; A. Cohen 2005). For the deceased, funerary rites removed him/her from life at the time of death and propelled the person into the next world, thus incorporating the deceased into the spiritual realm. Concurrently, the survivors experience similar stages, which began at the time of death, or earlier when prolonged illness was involved, and ended when the spirit finally passed into the next world.

The Canaanite funerary rite and associated activities can be reconstructed from several sources. At the time of death, a family member closed the eyes of the deceased (Genesis 46:4).⁵ Grief stricken family members may have embraced and wept over the corpse (Genesis 23:2, 50:1). Family dressed the corpse in a garment as evidenced by toggle pins frequently associated with Bronze Age burials and remnants of textile as at Jericho (1 Samuel 28:14; Kenyon 1960:266; de Vaux 1965:56). Soldiers and warriors were often buried in their armor and with their weapons as exemplified at Jericho in Tomb J3 (Kenyon 1960:306–308; see also Ezekiel 32:27 and de Vaux 1965:56). Once prepared, the body was placed on a bier, covered with flowers, herbs, and spices (2 Samuel 3:31, 2 Chronicles 16:14), and after a period of mourning, carried to the tomb. Along the way there was great mourning, and in some instances mourners built a bonfire in honor of the deceased (2 Chronicles 16:14). Aspects of this ritual are exemplified in the Legend of King Keret and in the Tale of Aqhat (Ginsberg 1992:142–158). Mourning was an integral part of the overall funerary rite and seems to have taken place in every stage of the funeral (KTU 1.161; CTA 5.614ff; CTA 19.4.171–184; RS 25.460; KTU 1.5.VI:17b–20A; KTU 1.19.IV:11, 22): 1) at the moment of and immediately following death; 2) when the corpse was being prepared; 3) while being transported for burial; and 4) during burial at which point the mourning could be quite animated and passionate. Extended mourning lasted for a period of seven years to facilitate remembrance of the deceased. Mourning often included the tearing of one's clothes (Genesis 37:34; 2 Samuel 1:11–12, 3:31, 13:31), wearing sackcloth (Genesis 37:34; 2 Samuel 3:31), refraining from personal ornamentation and covering the head and face with a veil (Exodus 33:4; 2 Samuel 15:30, 19:5; Ezekiel 24:17, 23), putting dust on one's head and rolling around in the dust or sitting among ashes (Joshua 7:6; 1 Samuel 2:8, 4:12; Ezekiel 27:30), shaving off one's hair and beard and possibly cutting one's own skin (Jeremiah 6:16; Amos 8:10), and of course, weeping (Genesis 29:11; Jeremiah 9:1). Another integral component of the funerary ceremony was the lament, which mainly consisted of exclamations of grief and sorrow by close relatives and friends. David wrote lamentations, or eulogies, for Saul and Jonathan (2 Samuel 1:9–27) and Abner (2 Samuel 3:33–34). These were usually composed and performed by professionals (2 Chronicles 35:25; Amos 5:16) who were frequently women (de Vaux 1961). Laments are also known from Ugaritic sources in which these mourning practices are described (Hess 2007:107; KTU 1.5 VI 11–25; 1.6 I 2–8).

Rite, Ritual and Ceremony

Scholars have traditionally and appropriately applied the terms rite, ritual, and ceremony when discussing ancient funerary practices. These terms describe human behavior of solemn observances as routine procedures that are purposeful, consisting of prescribed formulas that included well-established ceremonies intended to commemorate important public, private, social, or religious events, and may have included liturgies, songs, and prayers with the intention of “changing the social or emotional state of either the individual or group” (Arens 1988:224; Gallou 2005:13). However, it is necessary to make note of the distinctions between rite, ritual, and ceremony, because each performs a different function within the overall funerary procedure. A rite moves a person from one state of being to another, described as a rite of passage by van Gennep (1960) and C. Bell (1997). For example, puberty, marriage, and initiations are rites that transition an individual from one stage of the life cycle to another. Rituals consisting of the prescribed formulas both define the specific rite and facilitate its execution. For example, the marriage formula is different from that of an initiation (C. Bell 1997) or baptism. Finally, ceremony is the public, outward expression of both the rite and the ritual, which announces to the community that the aspirant(s) undergoing the rite, now occupies a new status in society. During the ceremony, rite-specific formulae are performed which may include liturgies, actions, songs, chants, and prayers. Community members who attend and participate in the ceremony act as witnesses to the transformation. Baptismal rites in the Christian tradition offer both an historical and contemporary example of the use of prescribed ceremony and text to mark an individual’s decision to adopt a new morality and their incorporation into the community of believers. It is also worth noting that in the Christian tradition, the funeral rite includes prayers, songs, the reading of scriptures, and a commendation (Harmon 1942; *The Book of Common Prayer* 1916:186–191; 1977:462–507; *A New Zealand Prayer Book* 1989:811–852).

Banqueting

Fasting, animal sacrifices, and feasting were integral parts of the funerary ceremony. Among the essential grave goods, vessels for containing, serving, and eating a meal provide artifactual evidence for the funerary

banquet. Like the Canaanites, neighboring peoples incorporated banqueting into their funerary process; accordingly, better preservation of artifacts, textual, and pictorial representation provide strong parallels.

In Greece, Rome, Egypt, Mesopotamia as well as Canaan, fasting expressed grief at the loss of the departed; sacrifices honored one or several deities; and feasting bound participants in the grieving process. Sharing a meal with family and close friends is an intimate means of establishing, demonstrating, and strengthening relationships that are private, communal, social, political, or religious (Dunbabin 2001, 2003; Garnsey 2002; Job 1:4–5; Jenks 1992; Pollock 2003; Steel 2004b; J. Wright 2004). Conversely, rupture of relationships could be demonstrated by refusal to share a meal (1 Samuel 20:33–34; Jenks 1992). On a mystical level, festivals and feasting may have served as a conduit for giving thanks to and communing with deities. Some examples include the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Genesis 12:1–20; Exodus 34:18–20); the Feast of the Harvest (Exodus 23:10–19); the Feast of Weeks (Exodus 34:22); the Feast of Passover (Exodus 34:25); the Feast of Tabernacle (Leviticus 23:34); and the Legend of Aqhat (L. Bell 1997; Ginsberg ANET 1992; Jenks 1992; Lloyd-Edinburgh 1990; Pope 1972, 1981). Religious festivals such as these brought communities, cultural groups, and even nations together for a common commemorative purpose. Banqueting displayed political power, status, and wealth; which was equally true in the Greek and Roman worlds (Dunbabin 2003; Steel 2004b; Wright 2004).

From various sources we know that funerary ceremonies included a banquet, which some consider to be the *marzēah* referred to in the Bible as “house of mourning” (2 Kings 23:15–18; 2 Samuel 3:31–36; A. Cohen 2005:45–98; Ginsberg 1973:119; Jeremiah 16:5, 7–8; Xella 1995).⁶ Upon death, those close to the deceased might have fasted, as exemplified by David’s fast after the deaths of Saul, Jonathan, and Abner (2 Samuel 1:12, 3:35), which could have lasted for the entire seven-day mourning period (Genesis 50:10; 1 Samuel 31:13). However, food and drink were often provided to nonfasting mourners by family and friends, and these foodstuffs may have been consumed at a house of mourning as mentioned in Deuteronomy 26:14, Jeremiah 16:5–8, and Ezekiel 24:17, 22, which are also statements of prohibition. Although negative in nature, statements of prohibition address issues regarding unwanted recurring activity. For example, modern-day signs stating

“No Smoking,” “Do Not Block Intersection,” or “No Trespassing” imply that indeed people have been smoking in a certain place, blocking an intersection, or trespassing, and are they are being asked to discontinue such activity. Similarly, it is clear from the prohibitive language in certain texts that the Israelites were engaging in Canaanite funerary rituals and were being asked to modify their actions.⁷ Nevertheless, from this negative inference it may be assumed that a funerary banquet was not only common in Canaanite funerary practices, but it may have been in the Israelite’s as well (Xella 1995).

Banqueting was integral to funerary activities throughout the Ancient Near East. At Gordion, for example, the tomb of King Midas (ca. 700 BCE) contained over 150 metal vessels including a standard wine set, fourteen wooden furniture items including serving and dining tables, and three cauldrons and tripod stands. The remnants of foodstuffs also included a beverage (mix of wine, beer, and homey mead) and a “spicy lentil and barbecued sheep or goat stew” (McGovern 2000:27). The lion-headed *situla* discovered in Midas’ tomb is similar to those depicted in an Assyrian wall relief found in the palace of Sargon II (ca. 710 BCE); perhaps this scene portrays a funerary banquet similar to the one held in honor of Midas (McGovern 2000). Mesopotamian banqueting scenes depicted in mosaics and seals illustrate vessel forms that parallel those found in the royal tombs (A. Cohen 2005). The typology of certain vessel forms found in ED III period tombs seem to have been chosen for the purpose of feasting, specifically for the serving and eating of the feast’s food and drink (A. Cohen 2005:84–93, 167–220). Additionally, A. Cohen notes that the emptiness of the vessels and the careful placement of them around the corpse in the tomb suggest the deceased were believed to have participated in the feast as well (A. Cohen 2005:90, 92).

The later Greek funeral or *kedeia* consisted of several parts: the *prosthesis* or lying out of the body; the *ekphora* or the interment or cremation; and the deposition of the remains in the tomb or grave. Participants offered prayers to the *chthonic* deities asking them to receive the deceased in kindness (Segal 2004:209). On the third day after death, the *perideipnon* was held at the hearth in the deceased’s house to mark an end to the three-day fast, which began at the time of death. Attendees included grieving family as well as the deceased. During this event, participants wore garlands, sang songs, and delivered eulogies. This event not only bound the grieving together, but

it also symbolized the departure of the deceased (Garland 2001:39; Lindsay 2001:68–69).

Similarly, funerary banqueting in Canaan probably consisted of sharing a meal (in spirit) with and in honor of the deceased, which accomplished several purposes: it bound family and friends in their grief; celebrated the life of the deceased; provided opportunity to bid farewell to the deceased; and ushered the deceased into the greater ancestral clan (Davies 1999; Dunbabun 2003:103–140, 187–191; Garnsey 2002:128–129; McGovern 2000:22; Morris 1987:31–32). van Gennep notes that the aim of such a ritual meal was “to reunite all the surviving members of the group with each other, and sometimes also with the deceased, in the same way that a chain which has been broken by the disappearance of one of its links must be rejoined” (van Gennep 1960:164–165). It is important here to highlight the difference between a funerary banquet and a feast held in conjunction with an ongoing mortuary cult. The banquet held in honor of the deceased during the funerary process was a final farewell and send-off of the deceased into the netherworld. The deceased’s portion of this meal provided sustenance for the journey. A mortuary cult feast provided sustenance necessary for the long-term well being and appeasement of the deceased and the ancestors, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

The Marzēaḥ

As mentioned above, marzēaḥ, as a concept, physical place, or both, can be associated with funerary activities, at least in part. The funerary aspect of the marzēaḥ is relevant to the discussion of the funeral kit, because it is during the banquet that a portion of the essential vessels would have been compiled and, although debated, the funeral banquet may have been held at a bēth marzēaḥ or banquet hall. Therefore a brief discussion on the marzēaḥ is warranted. There remains an ongoing debate regarding the true nature of the marzēaḥ and a consensus has yet to be reached; however, it is generally held that in some way it may be associated with mortuary practices. The issues surrounding the marzēaḥ concern its function: was this a funerary banquet, a death club or cult of the dead, or was it merely a drinking club or *symposium*? To reach the heart of the matter, scholars have investigated both textual and archaeological evidence.

To date, the *marzēaḥ* debate has largely centered on textual references, some of which can be contradictory and confusing. Scholars have yet to form a harmonious consensus as to the general purpose and function of *marzēaḥ* (Brichto 1973; Greenfield 1974; King 1988, 1989; Lewis 1989; Pardee 1996; Pope 1981; Schmidt 1996; Wright 2001). The texts most often discussed that either mention or allude to *marzēaḥ* include Biblical and non-Biblical sources, yet they appear to reflect Canaanite practices. The most significant non-Biblical texts come from Ugarit: RS 14.16; RS 15.70; RS 15.88; RS 18.01; KTU 1.21 (CTA 21.A); KTU 1.114 (RS 24.258); KTU 3.9 (RS 1957.702); and KTU 4.642 (RS 19.103). Additionally, texts from Phoenician Carthage and Piraeus, Elephantine, Palmyra, Nabatea, two rabbinic references, and the Medeba Map all reference the *marzēaḥ* (Ackerman 1989:275; Greenfield 1974:29; Ackerman 1989:275; King 1988, 1989; Lewis 1989:81). The most relevant Biblical references can be found in Deuteronomy 26:14; Isaiah 28:7–22; Jeremiah 16:5–9; and Amos 6:4–7; each boasts negative connotations.

Based on these texts, it appears that *marzēaḥ* was a kind of social institution, which had a leader referred to as an *rb*. Members paid dues, and membership could be bequeathed from father to son. The club could own land, possess a meeting house, and engage in frequent elaborate drinking parties. Some texts discuss the society's business arrangements, such as the purchase or lease of land and the procurement of storage facilities (Greenfield 1974). Some texts allude to the social aspects, which includes extreme drinking (Isaiah 28:7–22). Other texts refer to patron deities such as *Šatrana* (RS 15.70); while other deities, such as *El*, invite the gods to his *marzēaḥ* where there is excessive drinking and inebriation (KTU 1.114). Still other texts place the *marzēaḥ* in a funerary setting, where feasting and drinking are taking place in the wake of the death of a loved one (King 1988, 1989). Some Biblical references seem to prohibit the Israelites from participating in *marzēaḥ* or perhaps establish guidelines of participation in a *marzēaḥ* where mourning is taking place.⁸ Due to the diversity of contexts in which *marzēaḥ* is mentioned it is not surprising scholars cannot reach a consensus as to its purpose. However, there are three context-types concerning its purpose upon which scholars can agree: contractual or dealing with the membership (RS 14.16; RS 15.70; RS 15.88; RS 18.01; KTU 3.9; KTU 4.642); as a social/religious institution where drinking among the members and deities occurred (KTU 1.114); and finally as a

house of bereavement (KTU 1.21; KTU 1.1114; Amos 6:4–7; Jeremiah 16:5–9; King 1988), and it is from these categories that some argue in favor of the mortuary characteristic of the marzēaḥ.

Recent studies have suggested that a clearer understanding of marzēaḥ may come from the integration of both textual references and archaeological data (King 1988; Lewis 2002; McGeough 2003) or by relying on the archaeological evidence alone, which utilizes architecture and material culture as proof that certain structures should be reinterpreted as a bêth marzēaḥ (Bietak 2002, 2003). McGeough (2003) uses both textual evidence and the archaeological remains from the *Temple aux rhytons* (Yon 1996) and the *Bâtiment au vase de pierre* at Ugarit to define the attributes of bêth marzēaḥ structures. McGeough suggests the latter is a better candidate for a bêth marzēaḥ than the former. Taking a purely archaeological approach, Bietak (2002, 2003) argues that several structures, including the sacred precinct at Tell el-Dab'a, the Fosse Temple at Lachish, the Shrine of the Calf at Ashkelon, and the Rectangular Temple at Nahariya, should be identified not as cultic temples, but instead as ritual, funerary banqueting halls or bêth marzēaḥ buildings.

At the heart of the archaeological argument is the notion that the architecture, ceramics, and material culture found within these structures are more in keeping with textual descriptions of a marzēaḥ than with those of a temple. Because the primary activity of marzēaḥ appears to be drinking and merrymaking and not necessarily cultic activity, then the architectural layout of the bêth marzēaḥ would not necessarily resemble that of a temple. By focusing on the architectural features of the above-mentioned structures, Bietak (2002, 2003) observes a similarity between them and Egyptian domestic- and funerary-style, architectural traditions. In regard to the *Bâtiment au vase de pierre* and textual references, McGeough observes that the size of the meeting room for the marzēaḥ membership needed to be “large enough to accommodate a group of about twelve (or more) people” (McGeough 2003:414; see also Pardee 2000:55). Accordingly, the interior design of these structures does not follow the typical tripartite plan of contemporaneous Canaanite temples (Dever 1995:607–610). Instead, they generally consist of one large room, with benches along one or more of the walls (Fosse Temple III Lachish),⁹ a platform, column bases, and side rooms that exhibit evidence of food preparation and storage. Additionally, if these structures are in fact related to marzēaḥ,

where heavy drinking and feasting was taking place, then the ceramic types found within should be commensurate with the activities of the *marzēaḥ* as opposed to those of a temple. Correspondingly, the ceramic remains found within these structures were commensurate with food preparation, food storage, and all aspects of the serving and eating of a meal, especially drinking. Such vessels include cooking pots, plates, bowls, drinking cups, goblets, dipper-juglets, strainers, jugs, pitchers, kraters, amphorae, and vats. Imported wares such as Mycenaean kraters, Cypriot White Slip Ware, and Base Ring Ware, considered to be or to contain luxury items, attest to the sumptuousness of the gathering. The faunal remains associated with the interior of these buildings include sheep/goat, oxen, gazelle, some fowl, and other domesticated animals (Ben-Dor 1950; Bietak 2002). Other items include incense burners, model pots, figurines—anthropomorphic and zoomorphic—made of both clay and metal; ivory objects; stone and glass vessels; jewelry, including beads and a carnelian pendant; bronze tools such as an adze, chisel, and dagger (Ben-Dor 1950; Bietak 2002; Tufnell 1940). The assemblages of artifacts associated with these structures appear to be more characteristic of a banqueting hall where feasting and merry-making were taking place, rather than the ritualistic activities characteristic of a temple. Thus, the architectural style, interior design, ceramics and material culture, together with the location of each structure, outside of the city wall and surrounded by graves, may suggest that these structures may well have been used for *marzēaḥ*-type activities rather than the worship of a deity (Bietak 2002, 2003; McGeough 2003). Furthermore, when comparing the ceramic typologies of material found inside tombs with the types found inside the above-mentioned *marzēaḥ*-type structures and temples, the ceramic typologies found in tombs best match those from the *marzēaḥ*-type structures¹⁰.

The above-mentioned texts offer vague and often perplexing descriptions regarding the true nature of the *marzēaḥ* and the archaeological record offers some insight but few concrete answers. Under the circumstance, it is little wonder that scholars cannot agree on the fundamental purpose of *marzēaḥ*. The long-standing question still remains: was *marzēaḥ* secular, cultic, or funerary? The one aspect of *marzēaḥ* mentioned repeatedly in the texts is drinking; a characteristic upon which most scholars can agree. In the same way that dining binds participants together, so too does drinking. In many societies, drinking, be it

public, private, social, religious, or political, plays a prominent role in determining social status, political power, and economic advantage (Bunimovitz and Greenberg 2004; Dietler 1989; Mendelbaum 1965). Societies that employ drinking customs may use them to “institutionalize status differences within society—that is to differentiate individuals or groups on the basis of age, gender, role, prestige, or other socially relevant distinctions” (Bunimovitz and Greenberg 2004:27). Drinking can be used to encourage social solidarity, organize labor-force projects through “work-party feasts” (Deitler 1989:365), and can be used in religious and social festivals such as births, weddings, deaths, and cultic festivals (Deitler 1989:362). Armstrong (1998) discusses alcohol from a pharmacological perspective, the effect it can have on the human body and mind, and its role in ancestor veneration rituals in Zhou Dynasty China and in Iron Age Palestine. Intoxication was thought to enable communication with the ancestors. The use of mind altering drugs, or hallucinogens, often facilitated contact with the spiritual realm and alcohol is one such hallucinogen that can alter a person’s state of mind, propelling a person into communion with a deity or, as in this case, with the ancestors.

Perhaps the textual evidence should not be viewed as conflicting but instead as reflecting the multi-faceted nature of *marzēaḥ*. It may be that scholars cannot reach a consensus as to a single purpose of *marzēaḥ* precisely because it embraces any number of functions. For example, another agreed aspect of the *marzēaḥ* has to do with membership, which was all male, and the fact that the men of the *marzēaḥ* owned property and furnishings. Accordingly, it may be appropriate to view the *marzēaḥ* as a fraternity or a social institution (as suggested by Greenfield 1974) similar to that of the modern-day Freemasons. The Freemasons consist of an all-male membership, who believe in a “Supreme Being” (who may have different names), who own property, and who meet in a Lodge (also referred to as a Temple, Hall, or Center). Organizationally, many Lodges fall under a Grand Lodge or Grand Orients according to geographical area. Among the members there are lodge officers, with the Worshipful Master being the president, after which there are senior and junior wardens, a secretary, a treasurer, a tyler (one who guards the door during the Lodge sessions), and there are deacons, stewards, and a chaplain. While basic principles for membership, ritual, and ceremony exist, each Masonic jurisdiction can prescribe its own format. Masonic lodges also tend to be active in the community either participating in

or hosting charitable events for organizations such as education, medical assistance, or housing projects (Macnulty 2006; Morris 2006). In the same way that the Masons engage in private and communal activities, so too may have the men of the marzēah. The marzēah-fraternity may have consisted of members from a certain echelon of society who engaged in their own societal rituals and ceremonies (which included drinking parties). They may have recognized one or several deities. They may have been active in the community, and they may also have provided a venue in which grieving fraternity members could hold a funerary banquet.

As a further example from the Roman world, fraternal burial or funeral clubs (Lindsay 2001; Toynbee 1996) existed among the lower classes, which ensured that slaves and former slaves would receive a proper burial. Members were required to pay a basic fee and contribute an amphora of wine. Upon death, their funerary costs were then covered by the club, and a commemorative meal was held in honor of the deceased. Whether the marzēah functioned as a *collegia funeraticia*, or as a social club (Toynbee 1996), the true nature of the marzēah remains a mystery. Although at present, its multifaceted attribute as well as its associations with social drinking and fraternal membership remain its most notable characteristics.

Feeding the Dead

While it may seem subtle, the difference between a funerary banquet and the feeding of the dead was of great importance. As discussed above, the funerary banquet was inextricably interwoven with the burial process and was a meal held with and in honor of the deceased. The deceased's portion of that meal, in which he/she mystically partook, was deposited with him/her at the time of interment. This food was viewed as either sustenance for the spirit's journey, as an offering that the deceased gave to the ancestors, or perhaps both. Feeding the dead or making offerings to them was associated with postfunerary mortuary activities, which involved different intentionalities. The funerary banquet mourned, honored, and celebrated the life of the deceased; it prepared the deceased for the journey into the afterlife; and it ushered the deceased into the realm of the ancestors. In contrast, feeding the dead has to do with the long-term happiness of the deceased and the greater ancestral clan. Additionally, proper provisioning of the ancestors

ensures supernatural favors, and food offerings serve as a prophylactic gesture to ward off ghostly mischief (A. Cohen 2005:102–113; Gardiner 1928; Gardiner and Kurte 1995:2068–2070; Schaeffer 1939:46–56; Schmidt 1996; Scurlock 1995:1889–1892).

It is commonly accepted that the care and feeding of dead ancestors was a widely practiced (Davies 1999:54–556). In Mesopotamia, generally the eldest son, referred to as *pāquidu*, performed the duties of the *kispum* ritual, or the routine care and feeding of the ancestors. Other names attributed to the *pāquidu* include *sahir*, “caretaker,” or *naqme*, “water pourer,” or *zakir sumi*, “name caller,” all terms which describe the eldest son’s ceremonial responsibilities toward the ancestors (Pope 1981:159–162). Ugaritic texts, such as “*The Duties of an Ideal Son*” found in the Aqhat text (Lewis 1989:53–71 [CTA 17.1.26–34]; Schmidt 1996:27–46, 59–62) and some texts from Mari (See Schmidt 1996:28–46) describe some of the responsibilities that the eldest son has to his father both in life and in death. These include providing food for the dead, which many see as a parallel role to the Mesopotamian *pāquidu* (Davies 1999:56; Pope 1981). Other scholars disagree, stating that the duties of an ideal son listed in the Aqhat story actually describe those of a son to his living father (Lewis 1989:96; Schmidt 1996:59–62; Wright 2001:48–54). Nevertheless, the *kispum* appears to have been a tripartite ritual wherein the family went to the tomb in order to invoke the name(s) of the departed, to provide food for their nourishment, and water to quench their thirst (Schmidt 1996:28–46). This ritual was not merely one that deposited food offerings, but it was also one in which the dead were remembered by the living through invocation and a ceremonial meal.

Biblical references regarding eating the food sacrificed to the dead occur as prohibitions (Bloch-Smith 1992:122–126; de Vaux 1965: 59–60; Deuteronomy 26:14; Ezekiel 24:17, 22; Genesis 28:22, 31:52–54; Isaiah 57:6–7; Jeremiah 16:5, 8; Johnston 2002:62–64, 167–195). However, Bloch-Smith points out that “nowhere in the Bible are the Israelites and Judahites forbidden to feed the dead” (Block-Smith 1992:126), and it is possible that the Israelites practiced ancestor veneration, in common with the Canaanites. The prohibitions that are mentioned with respect to the dead include consulting the dead for advice, misappropriation of tithes slated for the Temple of Yahweh, or any activity that might deter one’s attention from the cult of Yahweh.

Examples of funerary feasts that are less ambiguous can be found from later periods among the Greeks and Romans during which they

clearly separated the funerary banquet from food offerings associated with recurring postburial mortuary rituals. For the Greeks, once the house had been cleansed with sea water and hyssop, the funerary meal, the *perideipnon*, which was held at the deceased's house and shared by relatives, was held on the third day after interment had been made. Additional funerary rites were conducted on the 3rd, 9th, and 30th days after death; the 30th-day rite probably ended the mourning period (Garland 2001:39–41, 104–105; Lindsay 2001:68). Annual rites included the *eniausia*, which was performed either on the anniversary of the deceased's death, funeral, or birthday; the *genesia*, which was originally a private ceremony that became a national festival held on the 5th of *Boedromion* as decreed by Solon; and possibly the *nemeseia* an all-night festival that honored the dead (Garland 2001). Food and drink offerings for the dead were left at the tomb and were considered to be the primary means of honoring and “delighting” the deceased (Garland 2001:110). The food itself, however, may have been considered tainted and unclean for the living who may or may not have ingested it (Garland 2001:110–113).

The Romans likewise presented food to the deceased at various stages in the funerary process. Like the Greeks, the Romans cleansed the house after the body had been removed for burial. The *silicernium*, the funerary meal, was held at the tomb. This meal consisted of a sausage, and the heir was required to sacrifice a sow to Ceres in order to achieve proper ritual cleansing. This was an extremely important part of the process because of pigs' regenerative qualities. Once the sow had been sacrificed, then the grave was officially consecrated (Lindsay 2001:72). After more ritual cleansing, participants partook in the *novemdial sacrificium*, which is similar to the Greek's 9th day of funerary activities. Banquet items included bread, eggs, sausage, vegetables, beans, lentils, salt, poultry, grapes, cakes, and drink that often included water and wine, as well as libations of milk and blood. Portions of this meal were left at the tomb or the grave stone for the deceased (Toynbee 1996). The details for both the burial and continued memorial meals at the tomb were left by the deceased. These ceremonial meals were to be carried out by the deceased's heirs and/or freedmen and freedwomen. Additionally, the freedpeople, the grandson, and the heirs of the deceased would have contributed funds for the maintenance of the tomb and for the required food and drink.

The Roman calendar incorporated two annual festivals. One is the *Parentalia*, held from February 13–21 when the dead were “honored and appeased by offering” (Lindsay 2001:74), which also incorporated the *Feralia* on February 22. The other was the *Lemuria*, held on May 9, 11, and 13, which was a time when the ancestors were dreaded and their spirits expelled by incantations (Lindsay 2001). In both festivals, food played an important role; however, the type of food and exact extent of its involvement in these ceremonies is neither entirely known nor fully understood. The purpose of the Roman cult of the dead was twofold: the dead remained in the memories of living relatives and friends and “perennial renewal of life to their immortal spirits” (Toynbee 1996:62) was given through routine care to their mortal remains and the offerings left in the tomb such as money and food stuffs.

As mentioned above, although the ancient Egyptian afterlife was fertile and paradisiacal, the dead remained dependent upon surviving family members for continual care and feeding. The eldest son of the deceased, the patriarch, prepared a tomb and provided an endowment for the deceased’s his mortuary cult. This would ensure the deceased’s happiness in the next life as well as guarantee the deceased’s name would be remembered forever. The eldest son functioned as the *ka-priest* or servant, and he, along with other relatives, regularly visited the funerary chapel to leave offerings of food at the tomb’s false door where the deceased’s *ka* would come up to meet the family and partake of the food offering. Over time, families lost interest in perpetuating these routine offerings and hired *ka-priests* to perform these duties in their place. In theory, the descendants of the employed *ka-priests* would inherit their fathers’ duties; however this was not always the case and the lack of interest for the office coupled with the inevitable lack of financial support contributed to the decline of most funerary cults. However, to ensure the dead would not starve, the Egyptians incorporated “the magic of image and word” (Ritner 1997:141) into the tomb. Now tomb walls were adorned with images depicting servants harvesting and preparing food stuffs, pouring liquid to quench the thirst of the deceased, bringing food to table, and reciting funerary prayers in the same way the *ka-priest* would do. In this way, if both the family and the hired *ka-priest* failed to perform their duties, the images on the tomb walls would do so magically. As early as the late Fourth Dynasty, miniature stone replicas were created of the food that would have typically comprised the food offerings and placed in the tomb with

the corpse (Assmann 1990; David 2001; Kanawati 1987; Ritner 1997; Roth 1988). In the Sixth Dynasty, miniatures were made of wood and ceramic instead of stone; and throughout Egyptian history wall paintings in tombs included scenes of food preparation and offerings. By placing miniatures in the tomb and depicting food in wall paintings, the representation magically ensured a constant supply of food in the afterlife, should the actual offerings cease to be made (David 2001; Tooley 1995).

Some have suggested that architectural features in Ugaritic and Canaanite tombs, such as secondary shafts, may be indicative of post-burial food or drink offerings. Secondary shafts such as those associated with some tombs at Ugarit, may have functioned as “feeding tubes,” providing evidence for a well-established ancestor cult there. These tubes were discovered in conjunction with numerous Late Bronze Age houses at Ugarit suggesting that through a series of tubes, gutters, jars, and pits inside the tomb, liquid could be administered from the surface as a ready supply for the deceased within. For Schaeffer (1939), this was clear evidence of a death cult at Ugarit. For others, such as Lewis (1989) and Schmidt (1996), this evidence does not necessarily underscore the existence of a death cult. Pitard (1994, 2002) has demonstrated that the tubes, gutters, jars, and pits at Ugarit were misunderstood and misinterpreted by Schaeffer by arguing that these installations were actually drainage pipes and gutters that belonged to the houses built above the tombs. Similarly, in Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan, a secondary opening in the form of a small channel (Cooley 1983; Cooley and Pratico 1994a, 1994b) was situated just outside the tomb on the northwestern side above Crypt C. The opening measured 60 × 60 cm on the outside and narrowed to a diameter of 20 cm on the inside. This coupled with the presence of two sizeable storage jars associated with dipper-juglets caused excavators to speculate that this may have been a libation tube through which relatives could quench the thirst of the dead.

Further pictorial evidence can be found in feasting scenes that appear on seals, cups, wooden boxes, and friezes such as those found at Early Dynastic Ur (Pollock 2003). These scenes depict people engaged in drinking and feasting; the animals and food eaten in the banquet; jars with straws, cups, and gestures of drinking; and participants, attendants, and musicians. These scenes probably depict not only the funerary banquet but also postburial festivals. Certainly, the *triclinia*, masonry couches and dining tables, found in Egyptian tomb chapels as well

as Roman tomb architecture suggest that families conducted certain postburial funerary festivities in these areas (Toynbee 1996:61–64, 73ff; David 2001:115). Similar features have been found at Pompeii in the tomb of Cn. Vibrius Saturnius and Ostia at the Isola sacra where the *triclinium* is located at the entrance of the tomb (Dunbabin 2003:126–129).

Gender

In recent years, scholars have focused on gender studies as a way to tease out male and female roles in society and the family or household in the ancient world, including Canaanite burials (Conkey 1991; Day 1989; Nelson 1997; Peterson 2002). Whether intentional or not, the sex of some individuals has been assumed on the basis of associated grave goods that have been engendered. The assumption is that certain grave goods, such as jewelry and weapons, are typical to one sex over and against another; jewelry for women, weapons for men. The topic of gender is relevant to the discussion because, although the sex and gender of individuals and grave goods may be determinable, the essential items that comprise the funeral kit are not gender-specific. This will become evident as the following chapters unfold. For clarification, the difference between sex and gender should be noted: sex refers to one's biological and physiological characteristics as being male or female, and gender reflects sociocultural behavior as being feminine or masculine (Costin 1996; Nelson 1997; Peterson 2002). The brief discussion here is concerned with gender and the feminine or masculine characteristics that may or may not be found among burials, grave goods, and tomb architecture.

Textual references and pictorial representations in wall paintings, friezes, and decorated vessels help to elucidate gender-specific funerary responsibilities and contributions to both the community and the family (Burke 2008; Pollock 1991; Stears 2008). For example, painted decorations found on ceramic vessels, sarcophagi, and larnaxes from Mycenae depict female mourners, underscoring this as a professional office held by women. In addition to these resources, recent studies have attempted to identify gender-specific roles and the division of labor between men and women by analyzing artifacts and the use of space. Interpretive analyses have been biased in terms of dividing tasks between the masculine and feminine; once a task is deemed masculine

or feminine, it has been difficult to envision exceptions to the rule. For example hunting and war are considered masculine; while food gathering and preparation and textile production are considered feminine (Nelson 1997). Accordingly, lithic and metal blades, knives, daggers, spearheads, and so forth are assumed to have been made and used by men for hunting and engaging in war (Crass 2001; Gero 1991; Peterson 2002; Weglian 2001); whereas, grinding stones, mortise and pestles, needles, looms, and associated paraphernalia are considered to have been used by women for food preparation, sewing, weaving, and so forth (Brumfiel 1991; Hastorf 1991; Peterson 2002).

Therefore, when evidence for food preparation or weaving is present within buildings, those spaces are interpreted as being under the direction of women. Conversely, when workshops or production areas for tools and weapons are discovered, these are considered to be under the supervision of men. When it comes to mortuary practices, similar gender-specific classification and interpretation have been applied to tomb architecture in terms of the use of space and to grave goods (Goring 1989; Seger 2007; Stears 2008). Observations such as the ratio of females to males in a given tomb, clustering, placement within the tomb, and quantity and type of grave goods have been utilized to draw gender-specific conclusions (Goring 1989). For example, tombs containing more men than women, or only men, or clustering of a single sex in separate areas of the tomb are interpreted to suggest that women and men may have been given different, unequal mortuary treatment. However, interpretations such as these do not take into account extenuating circumstances such as the possibility that male family members may have been killed in battle or while hunting and their bodies were never returned to the family tomb or they may have had multiple wives. Other explanations include the possibility of complex intimate relationships such as same-sex couples (Parkinson 1995; Reeder 2000) or the presence of widows and widowers living within the household of their next of kin.

If grave goods reflect persona and status, then it would seem logical to conclude that grave goods may also reflect gender. This rule of thumb is presumed especially useful when it is not possible to determine the sex of the skeleton. Accordingly, when a skeleton of undetermined sex is discovered with a knife, dagger, and/or spearhead, the individual is assumed to be male. Similarly, if an unsexed skeleton is associated with jewelry, make-up paraphernalia and/or loom weights, it is considered

to be female (Parker-Pearson 2005:95–110; Seger 2007). However, as with many things, there are exceptions to this rule. For example, Tomb 23, a Late Bronze Age Cypriot tomb at Hala Sultan Tekke, (Niklasson 1983), contained the remains of one individual, whose skeletal remains were positively identified as male adult. As expected this male was buried with essential equipment, including vessels that comprised a drinking set; status and personal items such as weapons including arrow heads, a dagger and a trident; faience gaming pieces; a scarab; and a silver finger ring—all items one would expect to find associated with a male who may have been in the military.

Also deposited among these grave goods were beads (presumably for a necklace), two gold earrings, gold pendants, finger rings, faience and ivory spindle-whorls, and pieces from an ivory box—all items typically interpreted as feminine. The reason for “feminine” grave goods to have been buried with the male interment in Tomb 23 isn’t known for sure, but there have been numerous other cases where “gendered” grave goods have been deposited with the opposing sex; most likely it was done for a variety of complicated cultural reasons related to gender rather than sex (Crass 2001; Parker-Pearson 2005:97). If tools, weapons, cylinder seals (Pollock 1991), and personal items (gaming pieces, jewelry), reflect profession and persona; then perhaps objects that are repeatedly deposited with males and females can be generally interpreted as masculine or feminine. Closer scrutiny of these broad generalizations has revealed that tasks traditionally assigned to females, such as professional mourners, while predominantly female, were also performed by males and vice versa (Bachvarova 2008; Wright 1996; Stears 2008). Imposing gender biases upon burials and their grave goods is more complex than would first appear, and there are no absolutes.

Kinship

Familial organization and configuration in the Ancient Near East, including Canaan, was convoluted and complex, just as it is with any cultural group, ancient or modern (Brichto 1973; Gelb 1979; Schloen 2001; Stager 1985). A brief summary of kinship is warranted here as it will provide some background to the discussion regarding the use of interior tomb space in subsequent chapters. Attempting to define that which comprises a nuclear family, an extended family, clan, or tribe is complicated. The diverse realities found within family groups

cannot always be embraced by rigid definitions no matter how broad or inclusive the definition may be because the complexity of each family's matrix is unique (Gelb 1979; Kertzer 1991; Parkin 2003). It is strongly emphasized by those who study kinship that family groups may include biologically as well as nonbiologically related members. However, since terms such as nuclear family, extended family, household, and clan are so often used when discussing tombs, burials, and the familial groups associated with them, it is necessary to establish generic parameters with the proviso that these definitions remain flexible and the realities of life may not always be immediately recognizable in the archaeological and artifactual record.

For the purpose of this work, the following definitions will be utilized. A nuclear family may consist of a mother, father, and unmarried children. A complex or extended family may include the nuclear family plus grandparent(s), uncle(s), aunt(s), unmarried sibling(s), or married sibling(s) and their family(ies). A household may incorporate members outside of the kinship group and can be either public, private, or both. A private household would be that of a nuclear or extended family and may also include nonbiologically related members. A public household could consist of a land owner and his nuclear family as well as the estate's laborers; temples including the priest(ess), his/her family, temple personnel, and miscellaneous individuals seeking refuge. A royal household may include the king and/or queen, his/her family, attendants, officials, and so forth. A household, then, could consist of a nuclear family in which cohabitating members may or may not have been related biologically or by marriage (Fox 2003; Gelb 1979; Kertzer 1991; Parkin 2003; Stager 1985). A clan may consist of several nuclear and/or extended families who claim to be descended from a common ancestor.

Traditionally, it has been assumed that those buried in multiple burial, rock-cut, chamber tombs in Canaan were members of the same clan. This assumption has been made based on the above-mentioned textual references regarding burial with one's kin or forefathers. Certainly, a multigenerational tomb such as the rock-cut chambers provided a burial place among one's ancestors. However, surprisingly little research has been undertaken to provide insight or data to support this claim. Apparently, the chaotic mix of burials and grave goods presented by numerous tombs has proved a stumbling block to archaeologists regarding the true relationship of those interred. Until recently,

scientific analysis (e.g., DNA analysis) has been expensive and slow; and sometimes samples prove difficult to obtain due to poor preservation of the skeletal material. Nevertheless, given the complex nature of the family and the importance of being buried with one's family, the maintenance of certain relationships within the larger kinship group would have been of great significance. It is necessary, then, to reevaluate the archaeological evidence in regard to familial relationships and the form and function of the chamber tomb.

The Foundation

The aspects of mortuary practices mentioned above were chosen because they factor into the funeral kit discussion. In most cases, these topic summaries are over simplifications of much larger issues; however, only the basics are mentioned here, because to say more would go beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, the scholarship that has been undertaken and the conclusions that have already been made are important building blocks in the ongoing study of ancient mortuary practices. Ignoring the foundation that has already been built would negate or suggest rejection of much that has been learned as well as our current understanding of ancient mortuary activities and beliefs. It is upon this foundation that the thesis for the funeral kit is based. It is from this foundation that the discussion of ancient mortuary practices can take one more step forward.

Chapter 3

The Funeral Kit Model



The premise for the funeral kit is based on the MB II–LB tomb complex from Ashkelon.¹¹ This tomb complex yielded numerous burials and grave goods that had suffered relatively little post-depositional disturbance, which afforded me a unique opportunity to observe Canaanite burial practices.¹² As mentioned above, grave goods can be separated into three categories: personal, status, and essential (Binford 1972; O’Shea 1984; Parker-Pearson 2000; Shay 1983; Wason 2004). After examining the field notes and top plans relative to the burial groups and sorting the grave goods according to the three categories previously identified, it became clear that individuals were deposited with multiple ceramic vessels, scarabs, and toggle pins irrespective of sex or age; these were repeated with nearly every burial. Although stated in chapter one, it is worth reiterating here that the focus of this study is mortuary uniformity, specifically the essential grave goods that comprised the funeral kit. Therefore, the objects considered to identify mortuary variability, such as personal or status items, will not be addressed here. While these objects held significance in the funerary realm, the discussion of uniformity in the mortuary setting will focus on items that archaeologists consider to be essential for a proper burial.

The pattern of recurring vessel forms that emerged among the burials suggests that the deceased were buried with ceramic types that fit

into three basic groups: packaging for commodities (such as juglets for perfumes or oils), food-service vessels (such as platters, large bowls, and pitchers), and tableware (such as bowls and cups). These probably reflect the deceased's portion of the funerary meal that was held in their honor. Nonceramic items such as scarabs and toggle pins were also deposited with most individuals.¹³ It was the repetition of these items that led me to reconsider traditional interpretations of grave goods found in Canaanite tombs, which, until now, have tended to focused on personal identity, wealth, and social status. While the study of all grave goods is vital to our overall understanding of ancient mortuary practice, it quickly became apparent that the repeated items that comprise the essential category deserved greater attention. The analysis of this equipment and its relationship to the corpse offers a firm basis for establishing the existence of a designated funeral kit; specifically, a predictable set of ceramic and non-ceramic items that probably reflect the invisible ritual aspects of the funerary ceremony, which may not necessarily have been intended to reveal social complexity, position within the community, or a person's age or sex.

The notion that a defined and relatively fixed set of objects forming a recognizable pattern, specifically a funeral kit that is intentionally deposited with most interments, without discrimination, drastically alters the way in which some grave goods should be interpreted. The apparently egalitarian nature of the funeral kit would suggest that certain grave goods convey more than the traditional interpretations have allowed. The relatively fixed pattern of ceramic vessel types in the funeral kit would seem to suggest that each individual received equal funerary treatment. This sort of mortuary uniformity should be interpreted as the artifactual representation of a proper funerary ceremony, which was provided for all who died regardless of their age, sex, or status in the community. The funeral kit, then, reflects long-established, time-honored funerary rites and represents the deceased's portion of the funerary banquet. Presumably these provided the deceased with sustenance and may also have served as an offering to the ancestors and deities (Assmann 1990; Bloch-Smith 1992; Bunson 2002; Emery 1962; Garnsey 1999; Ginsberg 1992a, 1992b; Parker-Pearson 2005; Pitard 2002; Ritner 1997). This chapter will introduce the notion of the funeral kit based on my observations of the burials in Ashkelon's chamber tombs. In order to paint a full picture of the funeral kit, the

methodology, the tomb's architecture, the four phases of the funeral kit, and the burial clusters will be discussed.

Methodology

Thanks to meticulous recording during excavation, reconstructing ancient activity in the chambers was an almost-effortless task. During excavation, location of burials within the chamber, elevation, orientation, length and width of the skeleton, burial position, age, sex, placement of associated grave goods, and proximity to other burials were carefully recorded. Each burial was fixed onto a top plan, and photographed, and an inventory of each item and extensive notes were made. Based on these data, the disturbed burials (those that had been pushed aside to make room for the new interment) and the intact contexts were identified. Each interment's set of grave goods were then reassembled.¹⁴ Once the funerary sets were reconstructed, the repetitious pattern of some items was obvious, making their classification into the three categories (personal, status, and essential) straightforward. After identifying the essential equipment, the ceramics were sorted according to type and (perceived) function as commodities, food-service vessels, or tableware. From there, the burial groups were organized into chronological order based on ceramic typology. Among the nonceramic items, the repeated deposit of scarabs and toggle pins with most interments also became evident. Those items that were either nonrecurring or were repeated infrequently (with fewer than three to five burials) or appeared to be gender and/or age specific, were not considered to be part of the funeral kit as these were probably indicators of the persona and status of the individual with whom they were deposited. Although the items that address status and persona are equally important to our overall understanding of ancient burials, they will not be discussed in this study.

It has been suggested that due to the proximity of some burials, the assignment of grave goods to one burial over and against another may not be completely accurate. Certainly, there were several instances where individuals were deposited in clusters and their grave goods may have comingled. In such instances, taking into account the field data, the assignment of vessels to burial groups was based on the elevation, stratigraphy, proximity to the corpse, and information gathered from single, nonclustered burials, which suggested that grave goods could be

located up to 70 cm away from the corpse. Nevertheless, the possible misassignment of one or several vessels does not ultimately detract from the basic notion of the funeral kit.

It is important to note that the data recovered from Ashkelon's tomb complex and discussed here are preliminary and subject to change as a result of further analysis. The Ashkelon data presented here and subsequent discussion should not be considered a final report or interpretation on Ashkelon's mortuary material. When complete, the results of the mortuary analysis will be published in the final report series for Ashkelon. Nevertheless, even at this early stage it is possible to offer some preliminary observations, recognizing that once the entire corpus of mortuary data—material culture and physical remains—have been thoroughly analyzed, the observations and interpretations offered here may require revision. Finally, the observations and interpretations offered here are entirely my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

Architecture of the Ashkelon, Tomb Complex

The Ashkelon, chamber-tomb complex, situated in the northern half of Grid 50 (Figure 3.1), was excavated from 1996 to 2000, ranges in date from the MB IIB/C to the LB I–II periods,¹⁵ and was hewn into a large subterranean, sandstone block. The sixteen chamber tombs that have thus far been identified are oriented in a north-south direction and can be arranged into arranged into four subcomplexes, which will be described below.¹⁶ The earliest and most elaborate of the subcomplexes was Chamber 5 (Figure 3.1). The material it contained dated mostly to the MB IIB/C with limited remains from the LB I period, suggesting it may have been hewn in the MB IIB and went out of use in the very early LB I period. The intricacy of this tomb can be found in its ten components: the central floor, a series of seven subfloor niches or repositories, the doorway/passageway/shaft, and tunnel to Chamber 8.

The niches were situated around the perimeter of the tomb, next to the walls, where they extended below floor level. Their dimensions averaged 1.35 m in length, 0.88 m in width, and 0.70 m in depth. Originally, the niches appear to have housed primary burials and their grave goods. Varying quantities of primary interments of differing age and sex were contained within most of the niches. For example, the West Repository contained two burials: one adult male and one

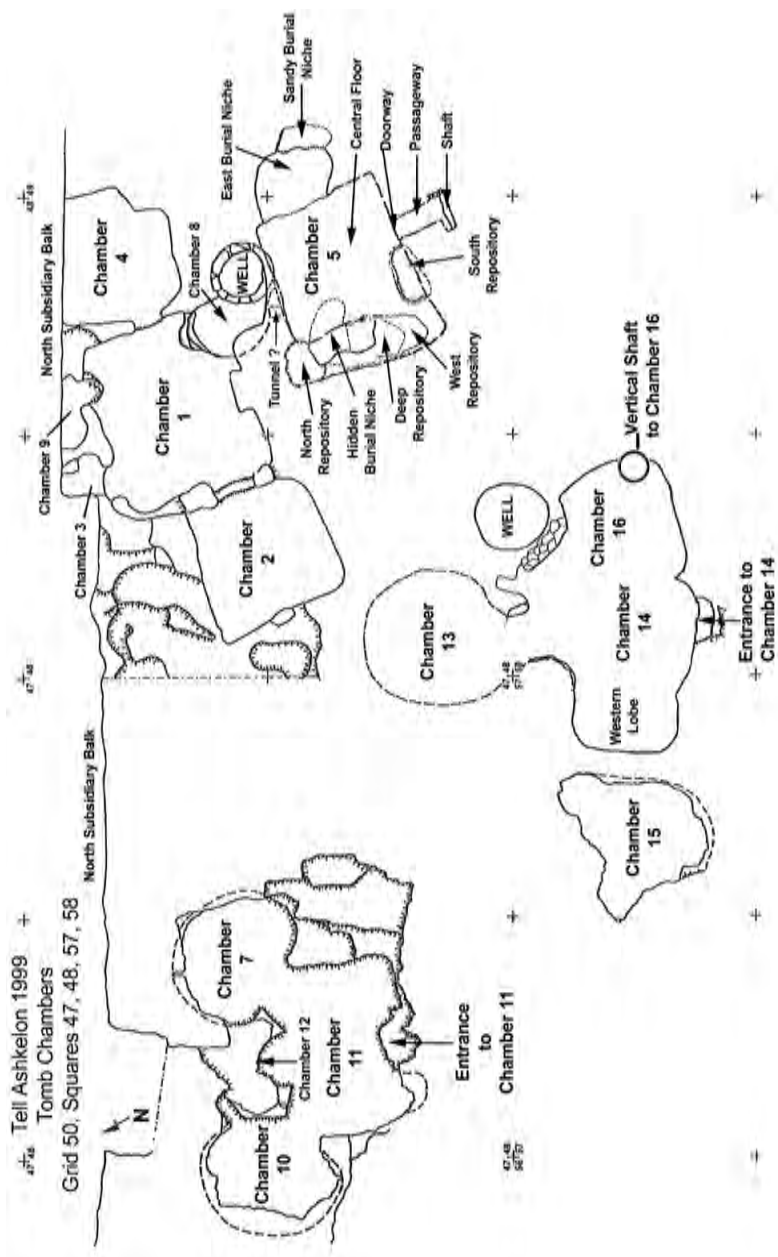


Figure 3.1. Ashkelon chamber tomb complex, Grid 50. Original plan adapted for use here, Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Used here with permission. Not to scale.

adult female. The Sandy Burial Niche had eight burials including seven adults, which included both males, females, and one child. In some cases, individuals were deposited very close to each other. For example in the East Burial Niche, Burial 81 was above Burials 82, 83, and 84, which were next to and overlapping each other. In one of the niches of the South Repository, no intact deposits were discovered. Instead, this niche appears to have functioned as a receptacle for older disarticulated interments. The orientation of interments was largely dependent upon the orientation of the niche.

Practically speaking, niches were useful in maintaining the integrity of the corpse and its grave goods. It may also have helped maintain familial organization in the tomb, which was probably shared by a larger kinship group. More will be said about this below. Although useful, the niches filled up quickly, requiring surviving family members to create more space, which resulted in a change of burial practice in Chamber 5. Sometime in the later phase of the MB IIC, rather than depositing the deceased into one of the niches, individuals were temporarily laid to rest on the central floor, surrounded by his/her grave goods. Later, when space was required for a new interment, older, decarnated remains and their associated grave goods were removed from the central floor to an area above the niches next to the chamber walls. It may be that the impractical nature of the niches led to a shift in the architectural configuration of tombs that were constructed later.

In the latter part of the MB IIC, Subcomplexes 1/2/4; 7/10/11/12 and 13/14/16 (Figure 3.1) were hewn and utilized through the LB IIA period.¹⁷ Instead of a central chamber with niches, as in Chamber 5, these subcomplexes consisted of a central room from which lobes or chambers extended. Interments and their grave goods, for the most part, were deposited in clusters next to chamber walls, leaving the central floor relatively empty.¹⁸ For example, Subcomplex 7/10/11/12 (Figure 3.1) consisted of a large central rectangular-shaped room with rounded corners; Chamber 11, and two other rooms, Chambers 7 and 10, which were roundish in shape, extended northward from the northeastern and northwestern corners respectively. Entry to a third room, Chamber 12, was gained through a doorway in the north-central wall of Chamber 11; however, this tomb has yet to be fully excavated, because it extends under the northern balk. In the middle of the southern wall, a kind of rocky protrusion jutted out into the chamber. This feature probably represents the remnant of steps leading down into the tomb

from the shaft and doorway, the remains of which were removed during quarrying activities. Subcomplex 13/14/16 (Figure 3.1) consisted of a central room, Chamber 14, which was flanked by three other rooms: Chamber 16 to the east, the Western Lobe to the west, and Chamber 13 to the north. Curiously, tomb builders chiseled through the sandstone block into the sand that supports it to a depth of 0.78 m, creating a soft, sandy floor onto which initial burials were placed. The earliest remains deposited in this subcomplex date to the MB IIC and extend through the LB I/IIA period (Baker 2006). This subcomplex was entered through a doorway in the southern wall of Chamber 14 (Figure 3.1). The doorway was accessed from above by a shaft, much of which was removed during ancient quarrying activities; however, traces of its outline can still be detected in the remaining unquarried block. The doorway consisted of a large stone slab held in place by round or oval boulders and mud mortar. Part of the slab and some of the boulders were found in situ (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2. Ashkelon, Chamber 14. Doorway, slab, and steps. In situ door slab to Chamber 14 held in place by field stone and mortar. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (photograph by J. L. Baker). Not to scale.

As with the niches in Chamber 5, orientation of the body was a practical matter, dictated by the chamber's design. For example, individuals placed along the northern wall of Chamber 13 (Figure 3.1) were oriented in an east-west direction, with the head toward the east. Those next to the western or eastern walls were oriented in a north-south direction, with the head in the north. To make space for new burials, older interments were either pushed aside or newer interments were placed in clusters, on top of or overlapping older ones. Subcomplexes 7/10/11/12 and 13/14/16 serve as the best examples of the form and function of this architectural style and contained the best preserved burials relevant to this study.

Identification of the Ashkelon Funeral Kit

The identification of the funeral kit at Ashkelon is based on forty-six primary and primary-disturbed (mostly intact or somewhat disturbed) and twelve secondary depositional (disturbed to pushed aside) groups from the sixteen excavated tombs mentioned above.¹⁹ The identification of primary and secondary depositional groups was made on the basis of the top plans, photographs, the daily journal, and the Burial Feature Sheets in the field notebooks, from which the clusters of grave goods and their relationship to a given skeleton were observed. The compilation of each funeral kit was based on the proximity and location of the components with respect to the skeletal remains at the time of excavation as noted in the field records.

Since many of the primary and primary-disturbed groups suffered relatively little postdepositional disturbance it was possible to observe the distance at which grave goods were placed vis-à-vis the body; up to approximately 50–70 cm away most cases. Additionally, grave goods were predictably placed around the head, torso, pelvis, and legs and/or feet of the deceased. From the tombs excavated thus far, approximately 1,441 ceramic vessels have been recovered. After assembling the primary/primary-disturbed and secondary depositional burial groups, roughly 873 ceramic items (61%) were treated as relevant to the current study of the funeral kit. Of these items, approximately 441 were assigned to the primary/primary-disturbed groups and 432 to secondary groups. The remaining 568 vessels could not be assigned to any group because of post-depositional disturbance. Of the ceramic corpus used in the sampling, 27% could be found near the cranium, 25% near the upper torso, 11% at the pelvis, and 15% around the legs and/or

feet. The remaining 22% came from undetermined locations around the body (Figure 3.3A). Table 3.1 illustrates the distribution of each vessel with respect to the specific locations around the corpse. Within the ceramic corpus, bowls/plates (39%) and juglets (39%) were deposited with burials in the greatest quantities. The next most frequently

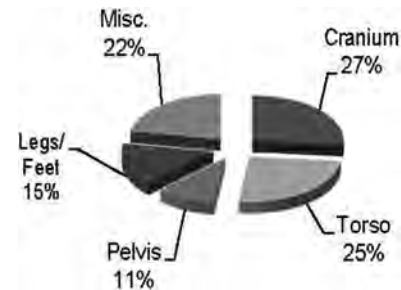


Figure 3.3A. Distribution of ceramic grave goods around the corpse by percentage.

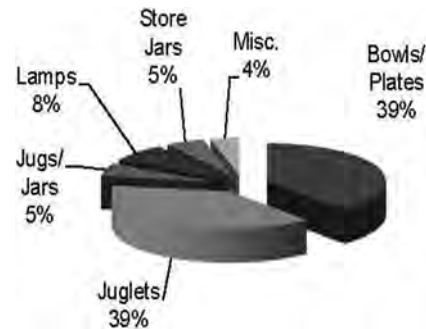


Figure 3.3B. Percentage of ceramic forms among the grave assemblages.

Table 3.1. Summary of the distribution of the ceramic vessels of the funeral kit at Ashkelon according to type around the corpse as observed at the time of excavation.

Location	Bowls/Platters	Juglets	Jugs/Jars	Lamps	Storage Jars	Misc.
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cranium	30.7	25.4	37.5	26.3	4.2	11.1
Upper	26.3	24.7	20.8	21.1	12.5	55.6
Torso						
Pelvis	6.7	16.8	4.2	15.8	0	0
Legs/Feet	18.4	12.4	16.7	23.7	8.3	5.5
Misc.	17.9	20.7	20.8	13.1	75	27.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

deposited types were lamps at 8%, followed by jugs and jars at 5%, and storage jars at 5% (Figure 3.3B). It seems that most ceramic vessels were clustered around the head and upper torso, while the next largest grouping was placed next to the leg and foot regions.

The overall character of the funeral kit assemblages exhibit both consistency and evolution over time. Consistency is demonstrated by the use of similar ceramic forms (bowls, lamps, juglets, jugs, jars) in all four phases of the funeral kit at Ashkelon; while evolution is observed by the disuse of certain ceramic types (earlier types replaced by later types), an increase in the quantity of vessels, and inclusion of imported wares, as time passed. Although the composition and character of the ceramic assemblages change over time, the basic functionality of vessel forms remained the same: vessels for food-service, tableware, and packaging for commodities. Thus the basic components of the funeral kit remained the same, reflecting typological, functional and ideological continuity from MB IIB/C–LB I/II.

Although exact chronological dating is not critical to my argument for the existence and development of the funeral kit, it is nevertheless important to recognize the contemporary cultural setting in which these groups existed. I have divided the ceramic groups, and therefore the funeral kit at Ashkelon, into four phases and have dated them according to the chronology adopted by the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (Table 3.2) (Stager 2001:633–35, 2002; Stager, et al. 2008; see also Bietak 1996:6, Figure 3; 1997:90).²⁰ A distinction should be made regarding the ceramics of the MB IIA and the MB IIB/C periods, since certain types found in the earliest deposits in Chamber 5 and Subcomplex 7/10/11 could be assigned to either Phase 4 of the MB IIA²¹ or to the MB IIB periods. The absence of certain ceramic forms in the earliest deposits of the tombs led me to conclude that the earliest deposits—and therefore Phase 1 of the funeral kit—date to the MB IIB rather than to Phase 4 of the MB IIA. These missing forms include “collarlette” and “candlestick” rim juglets, which usually represent Phases 2–4 of the MB IIA and/or the MB IIA–IIB transition (Ilan 1991; S. Cohen 2002) as well as carinated bowls typical of the MB IIA. The presence of red-slipped and burnished piriform juglets—some with a button base²²—plain ware juglets with an elongated or torpedo-shaped body, and carinated bowls typical of the MB IIB also reinforce this chronology. Furthermore, the supine-flexed position (described below) of the MB IIB burials is distinctly different from most MB IIA burials,

which favor the flexed or fetal position as in the tombs at Gesher (Garfinkel 1990; 1993; Garfinkel and Cohen 2007; S. Cohen 2003). The distinction between LB I and IIA is less crucial, because the progression between these two chronological periods represents cultural continuity rather than one of development, as in the case of the transition between MB IIA–MB IIB periods. Most individuals were arranged in a similar position at the time of final deposition: supine, with arms crossed over the chest and the legs flexed upward or extended, that is in a “supine-flexed” or “supine-extended” position. Once decay set in, the legs slid forward, fell apart in an outward or bowed position, fell together to the left or right side, or fell in some combination thereof (Figure 3.4).

The arms fell in a less dramatic manner either slipping down to the abdomen or along the sides of the torso. The supine-extended and supine-flexed positions are most clearly represented in Burials 121 and 157 (Figures 3.5A and 3.5B). While this was certainly the dominant arrangement, it was by no means the only position into which corpses were manipulated. Some were placed on their left or right side, in a flexed or fetal position as with Burials 106 (Figure 3.12 below).

Arranging the corpse into a specific position has been widely practiced and has been used as an indicator to distinguish ethnic groups



Figure 3.4. Burial positions. Upper left—MB IIA—the flexed or fetal position. Upper right—MB IIB/C–LB IIA—the supine-flexed and supine-extended positions. Lower row, the random positions into which some skeletal remains fell into during decomposition. Not to scale.

and trace cultural influences (Parker-Pearson 2005:6). It has been suggested that the flexed position imitates a fetus in the mother's womb, suggesting rebirth (Ilan 1995:135–136; Parker-Parson 2005:54). Other positions, such as supine, are thought to represent the individual in sleep or eternal repose. Some cultures went so far as to bind the legs of the deceased in order to keep the person's spirit from wandering or walking and disturbing the living (Binford 1971:12; Parker-Pearson 2005:54). Additionally, orientation of the body within the tomb may be deliberate or may simply correspond to the practical constraints of the tomb architecture. In many cultures, orientation of the corpse to predetermined direction may indicate certain beliefs with regard to the afterlife. For example, in many Egyptian burials, individuals are placed in an east-west direction, which suggests a solar analogy; "...on one hand is death at sunset...[and] new life at sunrise" (Tylor 1871 cited in Binford 1971:12; Ritner 1997:132–35). At Ashkelon, however, orientation of the body seems to have been a practical matter corresponding to architectural constraints.

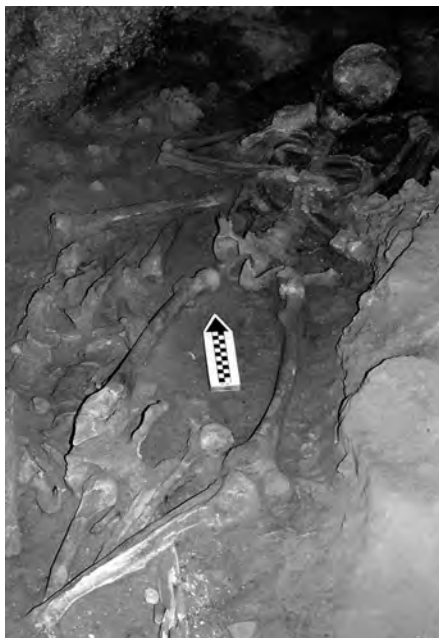


Figure 3.5A. Ashkelon Burial 121 in situ. Example of the supine-extended position—corpse on its back with the legs extended. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (photograph by I. Stzulman). Used here with permission.



Figure 3.5B. Ashkelon Burial 157 in situ. Example of the supine-flexed position after the legs had fallen from their presumed original position of being flexed upward. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (photograph by I. Stzulman). Used here with permission.

The Four Phases of the Funeral Kit at Ashkelon

The identification of the funeral kit at Ashkelon involved five factors: vessel type, location of vessels around the body, evolution of the components from the MB–LB, the items that constitute the “ideal” funeral kit, and the function of the scarab and toggle pin. In this study, discussion of the physical remains primarily focuses on the location and orientation of the individual in the tomb, the position in which the deceased was interred, their sex, and their age.²³ For the purpose of this discussion, only the burial deposits that best illustrate, either in part or as a whole, the components of the funeral kit and their arrangement around the corpse during each of the four phases of the funeral kit will be presented below. The relevant deposits will be represented in an illustration that reconstructs the burial or secondary deposit with associated grave goods depicted around a generic skeleton.²⁴ To the extent possible, drawings of the actual vessels in each group have been used, but since only selected items from each group have thus far been drawn, depictions of vessel types from other contemporaneous groups have been substituted when necessary.²⁵ The approximate chronological dating for the phasing is as follows in Table 3.2.

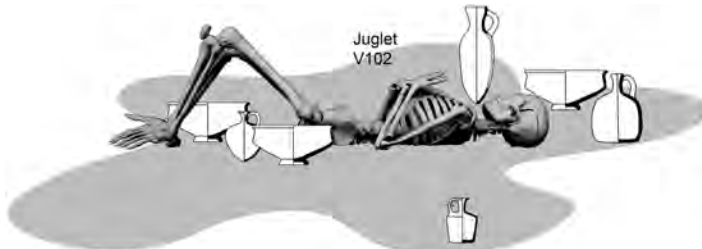
Table 3.2. Chronological Phasing of the Funeral Kit Model at Ashkelon.

Major Period	Date Range	Phase at Ashkelon
Middle Bronze IIA (MB IIA)	1950/1925–1700 BCE	Phase I–MB IIB (may represent transition from MB IIA to MB IIB)
Middle Bronze IIB/C (MB IIB/C)	1700–1530 BCE	Phase 2–MB IIB/C (may represent transition from MB IIB/C to LB I)
Late Bronze I (LB I)	1530–1400 BCE	Phase 3–LB I (early)
Late Bronze IIA (LB IIA)	1400–1300 BCE	Phase 4–LB I/II (may represent transition from LB I to LB II)

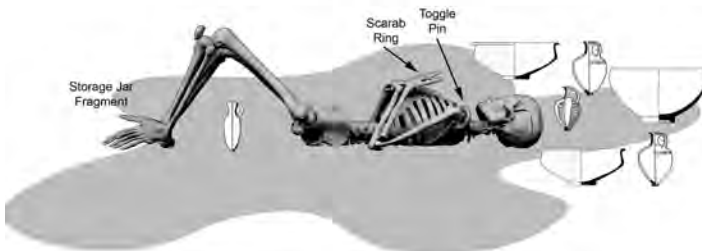
Phase 1 of the Funeral Kit at Ashkelon (MB IIB)

During the first stage of its development, the components of the funeral kit were rather modest, mostly consisting of ceramics of domestic type and manufacture. The composition of the Phase 1 funeral kit at Ashkelon is best illustrated by Burials 81–84 (Figure 3.6). In this phase, the funeral kit could include as few as three and as many as eight ceramic components in combinations of the following: two to three bowls, mostly carinated (Figure 3.7:13–15, usually located around the cranium, upper torso, and/or legs); two to four juglets of the piriform, and elongated, dipper types (Figure 3.8:36–44; 1A:24–27, usually located around the cranium, shoulder, pelvis, and/or legs); and/or one lamp or bowl reused as a lamp (usually located next to the cranium). Although lamps were associated with the set at this time, they were few in number and appear mostly as bowl-lamps, that is as carinated bowls broken at the carination and reused as lamps, which is evidenced by the burnt markings on the broken edges.²⁶ Additionally, the curious practice of placing a juglet on each side of the pelvis is evident in this phase (e.g., Burial 83).

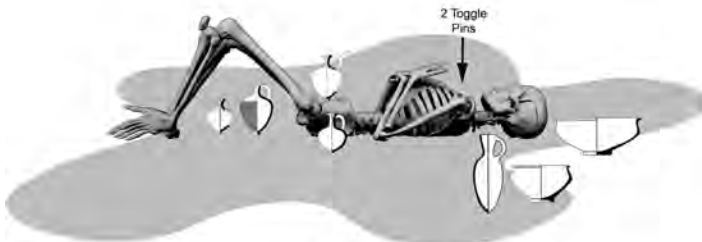
Drawing from the discussion above, some of the ceramic indicators for Phase 1 of the funeral kit could date to Phase 4 of the MB IIA, or to the MB IIB, or to the transition between the two, since some vessels exhibit affinities with both the MB IIA and B periods. For example, red- or black-slipped and burnished juglets with a piriform or ovoid body and a disc or button base have been found both in MB IIA, Phase 4 and MB IIB contexts. At Aphek these are common in the last phase of MB IIA, for example, in Area A Tombs 428 and 490, Str. XIVa (Str.=Stratum. Beck 2000b:214–15, Figure 10.21; S. Cohen 2002:55, Figure 6). At other sites, however, these juglets are present in both the MB IIA and IIB, for example, Megiddo in Str. XIII–IX (Loud 1948 Pls. 24: 32–33, 40), which spans the MB IIA and IIB/C. The same is true at Hazor in Str. IV



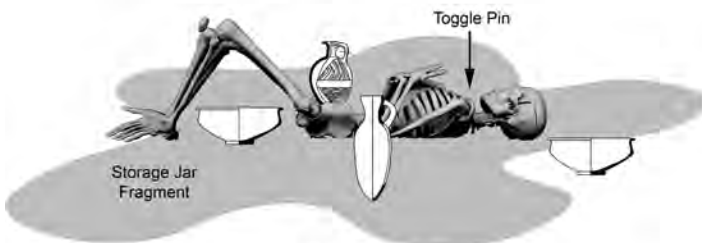
Burial 81



Burial 82



Burial 83



Burial 84

Figure 3.6. Phase 1 of the funeral kit at Ashkelon. The reconstruction of Burials 81–84 illustrate the presumed burial position, components of the funeral kit, and distribution of them around the corpse during this phase. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Not to scale.

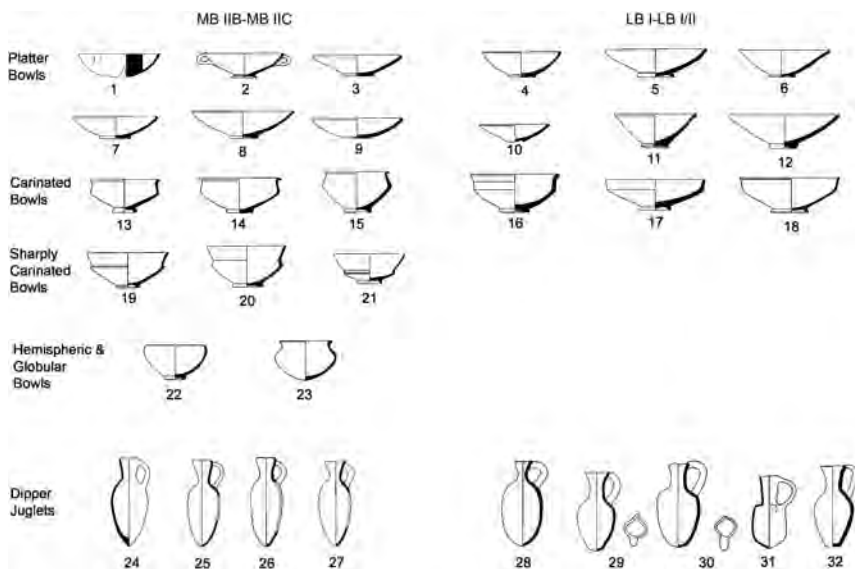


Figure 3.7. A chronological representation of bowls and jugs present in the Ashkelon tomb complex during the MB IIB–MB IIC and LB I–LB I/II periods. The vessel forms illustrated in this chart are those that are most relevant to the discussion of the funeral kit. They do not represent the entire ceramic assemblage found in the tomb complex. The complete ceramic corpus will be analyzed and presented in the Ashkelon final report series. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

(Yadin et al. 1961, Pl. C:8) and Tomb 1181 (Maeir 1997, Figures IV.4:4; IV.5:9, 11), and at Jericho in Tombs K3 (Kenyon 1965, Figure 93:16–17) and B48 (Kenyon 1965, Figure 97:12, 14–15). In contrast, the carinated bowls show greater compatibility with the MB IIB than with the MB IIA because of their everted rim, lower carination, wider body, and ring or disc base. Similar bowls have been found at Tell el-Far‘ah (South) in Cemetery 500 (Price-Williams 1977, Figs. 35:2, 43:4–5, 66:3) and Megiddo Str. XIII–IX (Loud 1948, Pls. 21:9 [Tomb 312], 28:6 [Tomb 2142] 36:8 [Tomb 5046]). While the dipper-juglets with an elongated body were often slipped, burnished, or polished, they appear more frequently without surface treatment. Similar juglets were also found at Aphek, Area A Str. XII (Beck 2000b, Figure 10.23:7–8 [Tomb 498]), Tell el-Far‘ah (South) (Price-Williams 1977, Figure 57:10–13), Hazor Tomb 1181 (Maeir 1997, Figure IV.6:1, 8), Megiddo Str. XIV–IX (Loud 1948, Pls. 26:1–10, 33, 32, 41:8–13), and Tell Dan Str. IXb (Ilan 1996, Figure 4.100:6 [Tomb 8096]). Although these forms were present in both Phase 4 of the MB IIA and in the MB IIB, examples from the Ashkelon

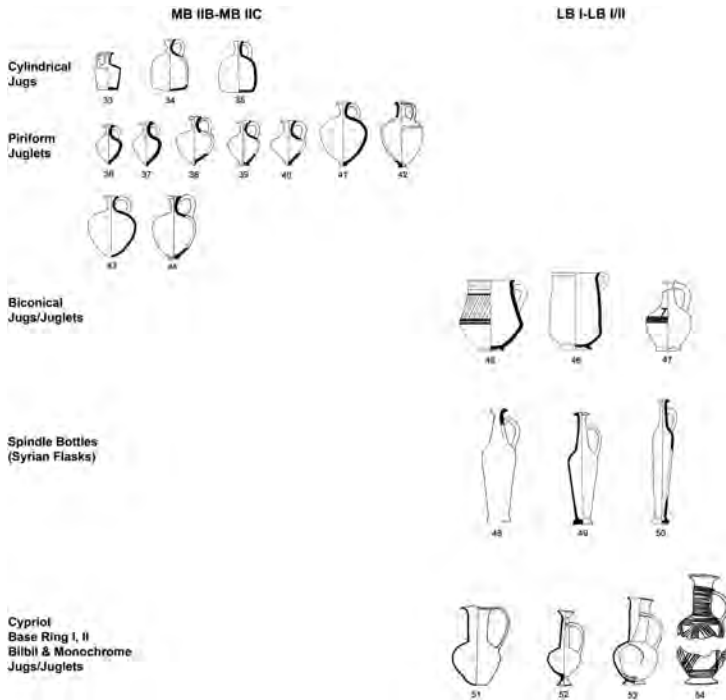


Figure 3.8. A chronological representation of jugs, juglets, and bottles present in the Ashkelon tomb complex during the MB IIB–MB IIC and LB I–LB I/II periods. As with items illustrated in Figure 3.7, the vessel forms illustrated in this chart are those that are most relevant to the discussion of the funeral kit. They do not represent the entire ceramic assemblage found in the tomb complex. The complete ceramic corpus will be analyzed and presented in the Ashkelon final report series. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

tombs should be placed in the MB IIB since the carinated bowls from Burials 81–84 (Figure 3.6) appear to share more characteristics with those of the MB IIB. Finally, as mentioned above, the noticeable lack of “candlestick” and “collarete” rim juglets among the earliest deposits—specifically in Chamber 5—also point to the early phases of the MB IIB.

The nonceramic components of the funeral kit, toggle pins, and scarabs were predictably associated with certain areas on or near the corpse. Toggle pins were generally found near the left or right shoulder (Burials 82–84), which would suggest use of a burial garment.²⁷ Similarly, scarabs were found either on the chest area or near the wrist or fingers. Scarabs located on the chest or near the wrist, may have been worn either as a pendant or bracelet; occasionally scarab rings were still on the fingers they once adorned as, for example, at Jericho (Kenyon

1966:266). Most of the scarabs found with the Ashkelon burials were made of white steatite, with decorations on the back, base, and sides.²⁸ A few scarabs were made of amethyst; some had thin gold bands around the base, and one had a base entirely covered in gold sheeting.

Phase 2 of the Funeral Kit at Ashkelon (MB IIB/C)

Based on ceramic typology, the second phase in the development of the funeral kit dates to the MB IIB/C period (Oren 1969; Johnson 1982; Bergoffen 1989). The characteristics of this phase are represented by an increase in the quantity of ceramic vessels; greater variation in vessel type, and the introduction of foreign wares into the assemblage. During this phase, the number of ceramic items in the funeral kit could be as many as twelve vessels. These sets could include combinations of four to seven bowls, mostly carinated, with one to four of them located around the cranium, one or two placed next to the torso, and one to three deposited near the legs/feet; one to three dipper-juglets with elongated bodies, which were usually situated around the cranium and/or legs, and one to two cylindrical juglets placed around the cranium or torso, and/or pelvis. This configuration is best illustrated by Burials 59 and 73 and Secondary Depositional Group 62 (Figure 3.9).

Some ceramic types that were abundant in Phase 1, such as the red-slipped and burnished piriform juglets, were present in some of the Phase 2 sets; however, their quantities diminished and were eventually replaced by the cylindrical juglet (Figure 3.8:34–35). Both plain and red slipped and burnished carinated bowls continue to appear; however, large carinated bowls, some with sharper carinations and wider flairs at the rim were incorporated (Burial 59 and Secondary Deposit 62, Figure 3.9).

Parallels can be found at Lachish in Tombs 1542 and 1502 (Tufnell 1958:270, Pl. 69:540–541; 254, Pl. 69:542–543) Hazor Tomb 1181 (Maeir 1997, Figure IV.2:2–3), Megiddo Str. X Tombs 2027, 3030, and 4054 (Loud 1948, Pl. 44:16–17, 19, 22), and Tell el-Far‘ah (South) (Price-Williams 1977, Figs. 13:6 [T551], 43:9 [T564], 57:8 [T569]). For the first time in Ashkelon’s funerary repertoire, platter-bowls appear as two types: large, straight-sided plain ware platter-bowls, with simple rounded rims and ring or disc bases and those with interior and exterior burnish, in-turned rims, and ring or disc bases (Figure 3.7:3, 7–9, and Burials 59 and 73, Figure 3.9). Similar platter-bowls were found at Megiddo Str. X, Tombs 3039, 3048, and 4054 (Loud 1948, Pl. 44: 37, 41–42), Tell Dan Str. X and

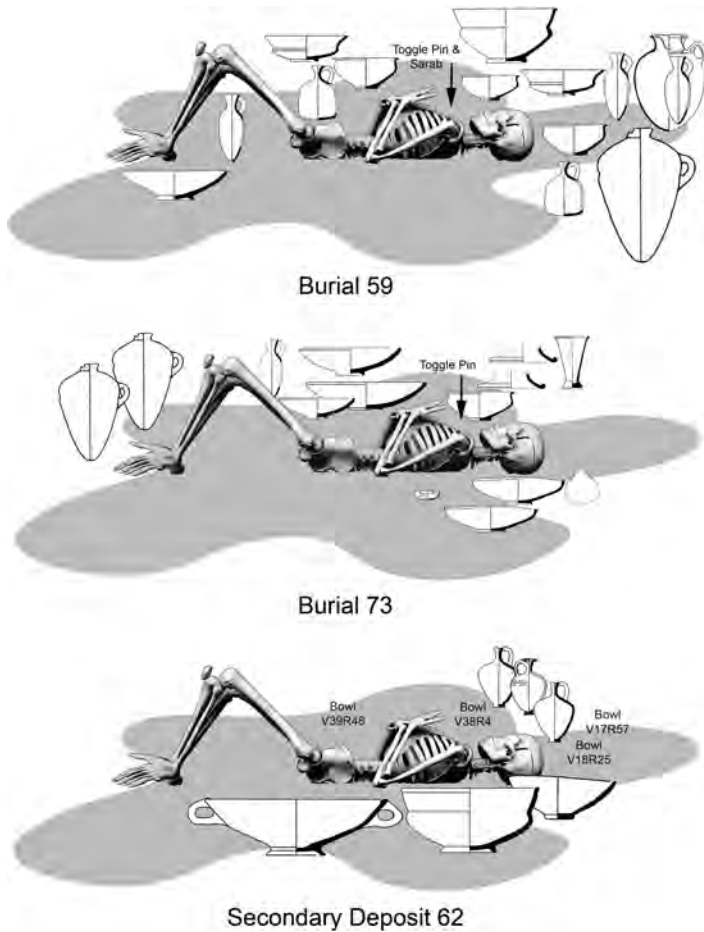


Figure 3.9. Phase 2 of the funeral kit at Ashkelon. The re-creation of Burials 59, 73 and Secondary Deposit 62 illustrate the presumed burial position, components of the funeral kit, and their distribution around the corpse during this phase. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Not to scale.

IX. Tombs 4663, 187, and 8096 (Ilan 1996:213–17, Figure 4.77), Hazor Tomb 1181 (Maier 1997, Figure IV.1:4–6), and Tell el-Far‘ah (South) (Price-Williams 1977, Figs. 8:8 [Tomb F550], 35:10 [Tomb F559], 81:1 [Tomb F582]). A third kind of platter-bowl, with two vertical handles, a simple rounded rim, and a ring base, some with a red cross painted in the interiors, also appears during this phase (Figure 3.7:1, Secondary Depositional Group 62, Figure 3.9). Parallels can be found at Lachish in Tombs 1552 and 129 (Tufnell 1958:272, Pl. 59: 578–579, 229, Pl. 69:580). Another

platter-bowl type characteristic of this period—a large plain ware bowl with two vertical handles, a flattened, thickened rim, and a ring base—occurred rarely in this context (Figure 3.7:2; Secondary Burial Group 62, Figure 3.7). Similar bowls have been found at Megiddo in Tomb 24 (Guy 1938, Pl. 23:13), Tell el-Far‘ah (South) in Tomb F554 (Price-Williams 1977, Figure 18:2), and Lachish (Tufnell 1958, Pl. 69:579). Plain ware, dipper-juglets with torpedo-shaped bodies continued to be used in the sets (Figure 3.7:24–27; Burials 59 and 73, Fig 3.9) and were similar to juglets from Megiddo Str. IX Tomb 2017 (Loud 1948 Pl. 50).

The final component introduced into the repertoire during Phase 2 was imported wares. They were few in number, however, only consisting of Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Cypriot wares and only appearing in the form of juglets. Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets were usually piri-form- or ovoid-shaped vessels with punctated dots, chevrons, bands, and/or lotus decoration filled in with the white plaster that is typical of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (Figure 3.10:73–75; Kaplan 1980:5–46).

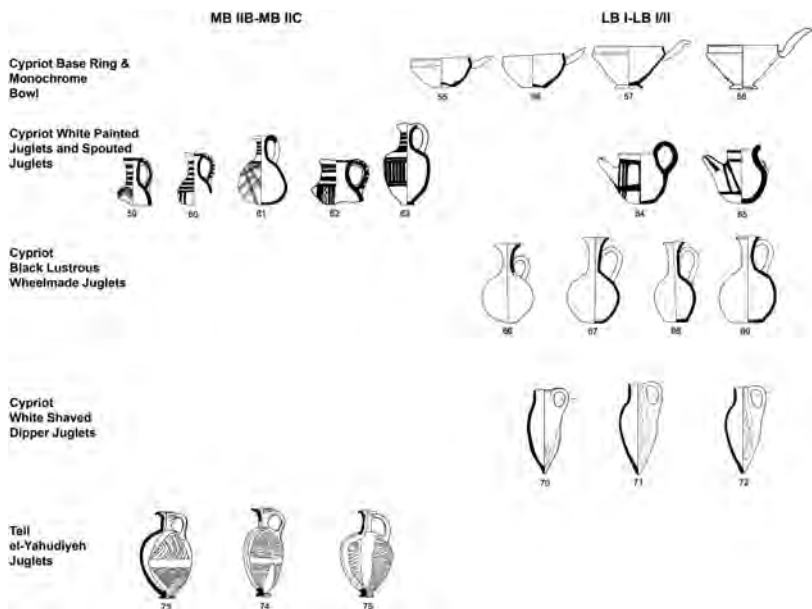


Figure 3.10. A chronological and typological representation of ceramics present in the Ashkelon tomb complex during the MB IIB-MB IIC and LB I-LB I/II periods. The ceramic types and vessel forms illustrated in this chart do not represent the entire ceramic assemblage. The complete body of ceramic artifacts will be presented in the Ashkelon final report series. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

Cypriot material included White Painted IV–VI juglets with a globular body decorated in the Cross Line and Pendant Style (Figure 3.10: 59–63; Åström 1972 [Part IB], Figure IX:12), similar to those from Megiddo Str. IX Tomb 3017 and Str. XI Tomb 4109 (Loud 1948 Pls. 51:5, 34:13, respectively) and Lachish (Tufnell 1958, Pl. 79: 823). Even though imported ceramic vessels appeared during this phase, domestic wares dominated the assemblage. Regarding nonceramic components of the Phase 2 funeral kit, just as with Phase 1, scarabs and toggle pins continued to adorn the corpse. These were consistently found at the neck, upper torso, and hand/wrist areas (Burials 59 and 73, Figure 3.9). The dominant position into which the corpse was fashioned continued to be supine-flexed/extended.

Phase 3 of the Funeral Kit at Ashkelon (LB I)

There were three developments that characterized this phase of the funeral kit: a considerable increase in the quantity of ceramic vessels, new domestic forms were incorporated into the set, and the quantity of imported vessels increased; but they did not exceed the number of domestic wares. Among the imported vessels, Cypriot wares occurred in greater quantity than those from other foreign localities; however, items from both Egypt (Figure 3.11:77–80) and Syria (Figure 3.8:49–50) were also present. Phase 3 of the funeral kit at Ashkelon is represented by

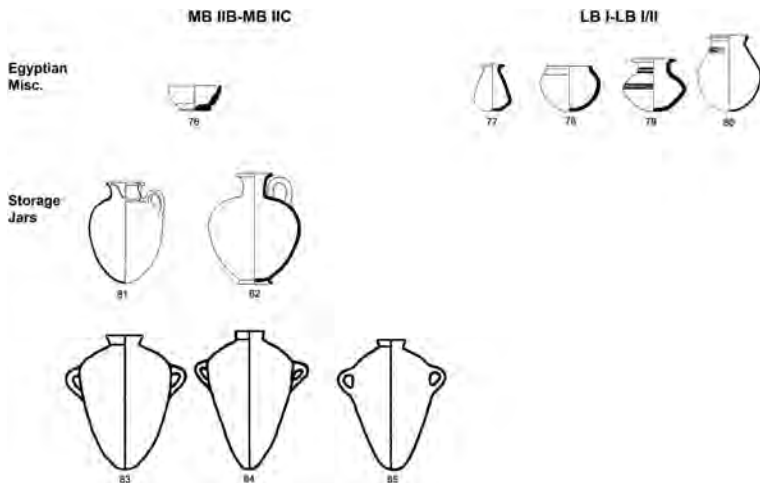
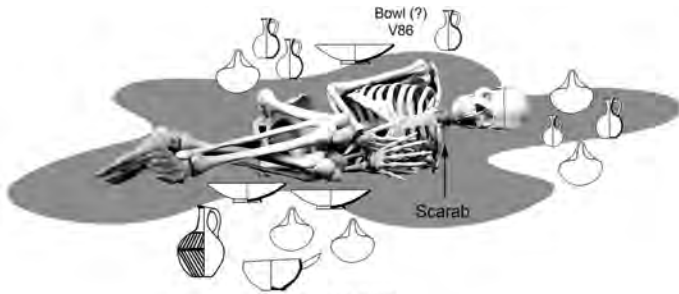


Figure 3.11. A chronological representation of storage jars and miscellaneous Egyptian forms present in the Ashkelon tomb complex during the MB IIB–MB IIC and LB I–LB II periods. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

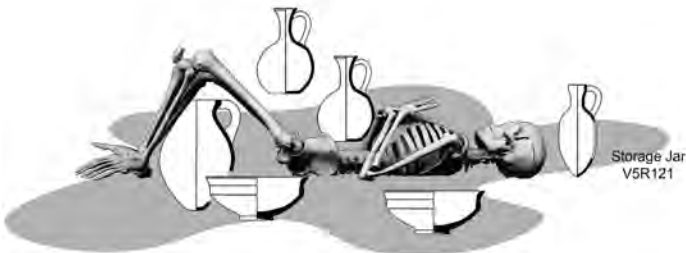
Burials 158 (not illustrated) and 106, 130, 149, and 157²⁹ (Figure 3.12). During this phase, the funeral kit could contain as many as seventeen ceramic vessels in combinations of two to four bowls (around the cranium, upper torso, and/or legs); two to five Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets (around the cranium, upper torso, and/or pelvis); one to two Cypriot Base Ring I juglets (usually around the cranium and/or upper torso); and two to four plain ware lamps (usually around the cranium and/or legs).

Domestic wares included plain ware platter-bowls (Figure 3.7:4–6, 10–12) and plain ware carinated bowls (Figure 3.7:16–18). In this phase, large- and medium-sized platter-bowls often outnumbered carinated bowls, a change from the first two phases. Curiously, these platter-bowls were often warped or made of inferior quality materials. In the previous two phases, the vessels most often placed on or next to the pelvis were the piriform and/or cylindrical juglets; however, in this phase the Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets (Figure 3.10:66–69, Burial 157, Figure 3.12), and occasionally Base Ring I juglets (Figure 3.8:52, p. 76) and Cypriot White Painted VI spouted juglets (Figure 3.10:64–65, p. 76 Burial 149, Figure 3.12), replaced them. Additionally, in Phases 1 and 2, make-shift, bowl-lamps illuminated the tomb. In this phase, the use of proper lamps occurred in greater quantities.

The Phase 3 ceramic assemblage dates to the LB I period. The domestic wares that represent this period included: carinated bowls with a rounded, straight, or slightly everted rims and concave disc, ring, or pedestal bases, similar to those from Megiddo Str. VIII (Loud 1948, Pl. 61), Hazor Tomb 8112 (Yadin et al. 1961, Pl. CCXL:1–2); large platter-bowls, some V-shaped, with a simple rounded rims and ring or disc bases, similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. IX–VII (Loud 1948, Pls. 54:9; 61:13, 17–18; 16:11, 16), and Hazor in Str. II of the Lower City and Str. XV of the Upper City (Tombs 3178, 8130, and 8205 [Yadin et al. 1961, CCXL:11, 13–14]); dipper-juglets with a bulbous bodies and pinched mouths, similar to those from Megiddo in Str. VIII (Loud 1948 Pl. 58:4–8); and biconical jugs, similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. IX Tomb 3013 (Loud 1948, Pl. 49:15) and Str. VIII Tomb 2099 (Loud 1948, Pl. 57:19); as well as tankards, in Str. IX Tomb 3018 (Loud 1948, Pl. 49:18), Str. VIIB–VIIA (Loud 1948, Pl. 63:3), and Str. VIII Tomb 3006 (Loud 1948, Pl. 58:3). New in this phase were plain ware dipper-juglets with flat bases, similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. IX–VIII, Tomb 3028 (Loud 1948, Pl. 50:8).



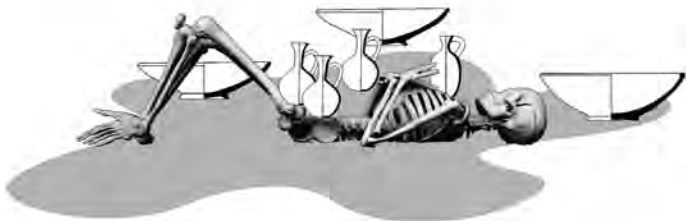
Burial 106



Burial 130



Burial 149



Burial 157

Figure 3.12. Phase 3 of the funeral kit at Ashkelon. The re-creation of Burials 106, 130, 149, and 158 illustrate the presumed burial position, components of the funeral kit, and the relationship of the artifacts to the corpse as they were distributed during this phase. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Not to scale.

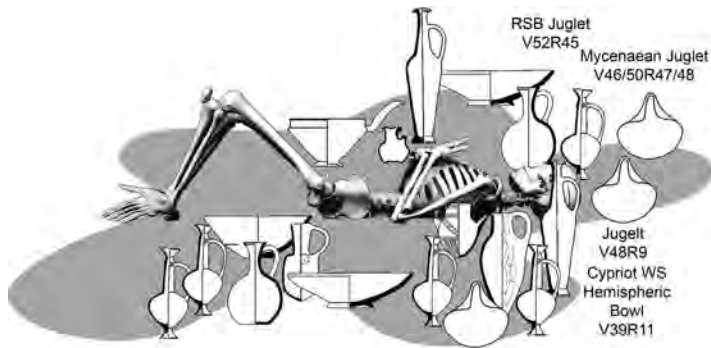
The imported wares characteristic of this phase included, as alluded to above: Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets (Oren 1969:130–36; Åström 1972 [Part IC], Figure LVII:8–10), similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. VIII (Loud 1948, Pl. 59:5 [Tomb 2106]) and Hazor in Str. XV of the Upper City (Yadin et al. 1961, Pl. CCXL:4 [Tomb 8112]); Cypriot White Painted Wares (Åström 1972 [Part IC], Figure XLI:4), including teapots and hemispherical bowls (milk bowls), also found at Megiddo in Str. VIII Tomb 3015 (Loud 1948, Pl. 59:10); Cypriot Base Ring I jugs, juglets, and bowls (Åström 1972 [Part IC], Figures XLVII:8–10, XLIX), similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. VIII (Loud 1948, Pl. 58:18–19) and Lachish (Tufnell 1958, Pl. 80:857–860); and Cypriot Monochrome Wares (Oren 1969:140–42; Åström 1972 [Part IC], Figure XLV:6–7).

As with the first two phases, scarabs and toggle pins were deposited with the deceased. They continued to be associated with the neck, upper torso, and finger/wrist regions of the body. Additionally, the corpse was manipulated into a supine-flexed/extended position; however, on rare occasion, individuals were left in a flexed position (Burial 106, Figure 3.12).

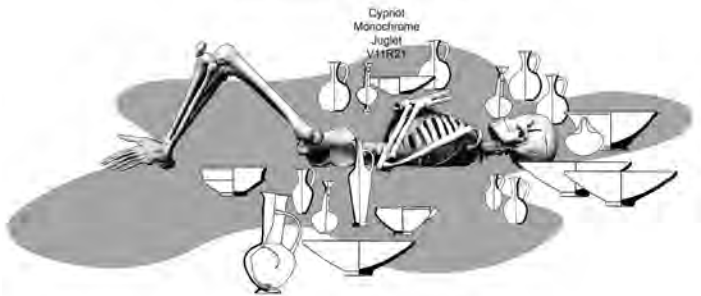
Phase 4 of the Funeral Kit at Ashkelon (LB IIA)

In the fourth and final phase of the funeral kit at Ashkelon, the character of the components changed in two ways: the quantity of vessels increased substantially, and imported wares often outnumbered domestic in many of the groups. Regarding imported goods, Cypriot vessels were the most numerous; although Mycenaean, Egyptian, and Syrian vessels were present as well. Domestic items, such as plain ware platters and carinated bowls, were often of poor quality. Even though most of the ceramic types were similar to those of the previous phase, there were a few additions including Cypriot Base Ring II juglets and jugs (Figure 3.8:53–54) and Cypriot White Shaved dipper-juglets (Figure 3.10:70–72). Numerous burials from this phase were located in the uppermost layers of the chambers, which had been disturbed by quarrying activities in the 7th century BCE, leaving few discernable groups to represent this phase. Nevertheless, Secondary Deposits 39, 64, and 65 were identifiable (Figure 3.13).

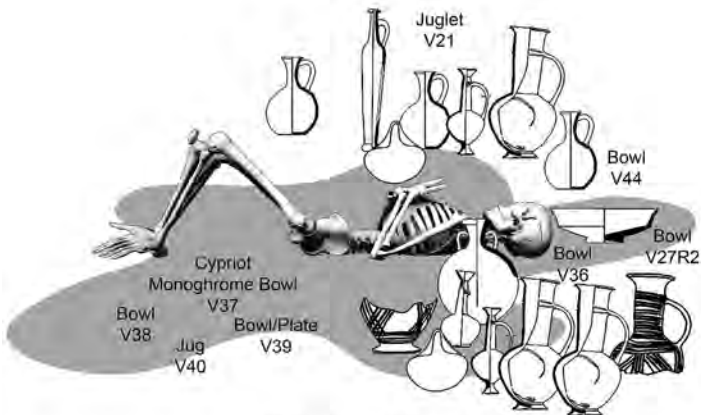
During this phase, there could have been as few as seven or as many as twenty-four ceramic vessels in each assemblage. These could appear in combinations of up to six bowls (around the cranium, upper torso, and/or legs); one to two spindle bottles (around the cranium,



Secondary Deposit 39



Secondary Deposit 64



Secondary Deposit 65

Figure 3.13. Phase 4 of the funeral kit at Ashkelon. The re-creation of Secondary Deposits 39, 64, and 65 illustrate the presumed burial position, components of the funeral kit, and their location around the deceased during this phase. Ceramic drawings courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Not to scale.

lower torso/pelvis, and/or legs); one to two Cypriot White Shaved, dipper-juglets (usually placed around the cranium and/or legs); and one to three Cypriot Base Ring I juglets (around the cranium and/or legs); one to two Cypriot Base Ring II jugs (around the cranium); one to four Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets (around the cranium and/or pelvis); one to three plain ware lamps (around the head and/or legs); and one plain ware pitcher (often near or between the legs).

The majority of the ceramics that represent this phase can be dated to the LB I/IIA period. These distinctive types include: Cypriot Base Ring II jugs and juglets, similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. VII. (Loud 1948, Pl. 67:20). Hazor in Str. Ib (Yadin et al. 1960, Pl. CXXXVI:2–9 [Tombs 8144–8145]; Yadin et al. 1961, Pl. XXVII:3), and Lachish (Tufnell 1958, Pls. 80:842–847, 858–867; 81); Cypriot White Shaved dipper juglets, also found at Megiddo in Str. VII (Loud 1948, Pl. 71:12), Hazor (Yadin et al. 1960, Pl. CXXXI:1–2 [Tombs 8144–8145]), and Lachish (Tufnell 1958, Pl. 79:819–822); plain ware platters and carinated bowls, similar to those found at Megiddo in Str. VII (Loud 1948, Pl. 65:14–15, 18, 21), and Hazor in Str. Ib (Yadin et al. 1961, Pls. CLXII:23–24, CCLXXI:1–3, 8–9); globular bowls/cooking pots like those found at Hazor in Str. Ib (Yadin et al. 1961, Pl. CC:25); and pilgrim flasks, similar to those from Megiddo Str. VIIA (Loud 1948, Pl. 70:9) and Hazor (Yadin et al. 1960, Pl. CXXX:11–13 [Tombs 8144–8145]).

In keeping with the previous phases, the dominant burial position continued to be supine-flexed/extended. Correspondingly, scarabs and toggle pins were predictably found in the neck, upper torso, and finger/wrist regions of the deposits.

Summary of the Phases

The Pottery

The progressive development of the Ashkelon funeral kit can be observed from the MB IIB through the LB IIA periods. Phase 1 of the funeral kit (MB IIB) consisted of relatively few components that were of primarily domestic manufacture. In Phase 2 (MB IIB/C) the quantity of ceramic vessels increased slightly; some types that dropped out (red- and black-slipped and burnished piriform juglets) were replaced with new types (cylindrical jugs); additional new types that were also incorporated into the assemblage included large carinated platter-bowls and imported ceramics such as Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Cypriot wares,

which appeared in small quantities and limited forms. In Phase 3 (LB I) there is a noticeable increase in the quantity of ceramic vessels with the appearance of new domestic forms such as biconical jugs, a larger quantity and variety of imported wares, and discontinued use of forms that were no longer produced in this time period. In the final phase of the funeral kit (LB IIA) the number of items multiplied substantially, with foreign wares dominating some assemblages. During Phases 2, 3, and 4 of the funeral kit, domestic ware, specifically plain ware platters and carinated bowls, were frequently made of inferior materials and were very poorly manufactured, as many of these bowls were warped. The imported ceramics, however, were always of excellent quality.

The supine-flexed or supine-extended position remained the dominant pose into which the body was manipulated at the time of deposit throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Curiously, beginning in Phase 1, one or two juglets were often left on the pelvis. The way in which these juglets were discovered suggests that they were placed directly on the body, with the base sitting on the lower torso and the rim and neck resting against the upward flexed thigh. Burials 149 (Figure 3.12) and 157 (Figures 3.5B and 3.12) of Phase 3 illustrate this point, as a Cypriot White Painted VI tea pot was resting *in situ* on top of the left and right femurs (Burial 149) and two Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets were left on both pelvic sides in Burial 157. The type of juglet placed on the pelvis changed from red- or black-slipped, burnished piriform juglet in the MB IIB (Burial 83, Figure 3.6), to cylindrical shaped juglets in the MB IIC (Burial 59, Figure 3.9), to Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets (Burial 157) and/or Cypriot White Painted tea pots in the LB I, and finally to Cypriot Black Lustrous, Wheel-made and/or Base Ring juglets in the LB IIA period (Burial 149). What this practice may have meant remains unclear; however, it is possible that the commodity(ies) contained within the vessels possessed some medicinal or olfactory qualities.³⁰

The distribution of ceramic vessels around specific zones of the body may also have been important. It was evident from the top plans and field photographs that the majority of the ceramic vessels were clustered around the cranium and upper torso regions. This distribution was especially evident in the later phases with the larger ceramic groups. By way of speculative interpretation, it may be that the various zones around the corpse indicate various beliefs. Perhaps food and drink items placed around the cranium and upper torso regions represent the portion of

the offering meant as sustenance for the deceased; items placed near the mid-torso or hands represent food offerings to the ancestors and/or deities in the after world; and items near the lower torso and/or legs/feet may relate to notions of fertility.

The fact that the components and character of the funeral kit changed over time does not diminish its overall meaning and function within the mortuary setting. As has been demonstrated, vessel types and quantity evolved as time elapsed from the MB–LB; vessel types were commensurate with the chronological periods in which they appeared and quantities increased. The common thread that can be found throughout the evolution of the funeral kit is that vessel forms largely remained the same (bowls, juglets, lamps, jars and storage jars), consistently corresponding to the three categories identified above: vessels for serving a meal, table ware, and packaging for commodities. So, in spite of the evolving individual typologies of the funeral kit, its basic function remained the same: as the deceased's portion of the funerary banquet that was held in honor of him/her. Additionally, the increased quantity of ceramic items, that is the larger portion of the meal, may be indicative of a funerary banquet that became more elaborate over time, hence the prohibitive Old Testament references to an out-of-control *marzēah*.³¹

The Scarab

Most individuals interred in the Ashkelon tombs were buried with at least one scarab irrespective of age or sex.³² Scarabs in Canaan are often interpreted as being personal items (Palumbo1987; Yassur-Landau 1992); especially when they bear personal names or offices (D. Ben-Tor 1994). However, their repeated presence with nearly every burial suggests that scarabs were in some way essential to the individual whom they accompanied and should be regarded as a nonceramic component of the essential equipment that comprised the funeral kit at Ashkelon.

Like the Egyptians, MB and LB people of Ashkelon wore scarab amulets around their necks, wrists, or as fingerings (Figure 3.14). This was determined by observing the area of the body with which the scarab was associated. The scarabs at Ashkelon are similar to those from Egypt in their size and shape, the materials from which they are made, and the carved decoration of their backs and bases. As with most Canaanite scarabs, the differences between the scarabs at Ashkelon and those from Egypt may be found in the detail of the carved back, side,



Figure 3.14. Selected scarabs from the Ashkelon chamber tombs. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (photograph by J. L. Baker). Not to scale.

and base. The backs of the scarabs from Ash were carved with minimal detail compared to some Egyptian scarabs, on which the clypeus, head, prothorax, and elytra were intricately carved, closely rendering the features of the beetle. The designs on the bases of the scarabs fit into the design classes suggested by Ward (1978, 1987) and Tufnell (1940, 1958) and recently updated by D. Ben-Tor (2007).³³

Clearly, scarabs were important to the MB and LB people of Ashkelon; however, as an Egyptian symbol, what did it mean to the Canaanites and what was its role in their mortuary context? At first it would seem logical to argue that scarabs, some of which invoke the names of Egyptian pharaohs and deities for protection and good fortune, suggest that these were made and worn by Egyptians living abroad. However, D. Ben-Tor (2007:118–119, 155–156, 186–187) has shown that many of the Canaanite scarabs originated in the Levant suggesting that the Canaanites probably adopted and adapted scarabs and their designs for their own administrative and apotropaic uses (Goodenough 1988). Ashkelon was a coveted location for the Egyptians because of its fertile land, produce, and its location as a gateway for trade and commerce not only in the Levant but also with the Mediterranean basin and inland to points north and east. Egypt (especially the Asiatics who inhabited the eastern Delta, for example, at Tell el-Dab'a) and the peoples of the Levant had a well-developed commercial relationship in the MB (Gerstenblith 1973; S. Cohen 2002; D. Ben-Tor 2007), which probably accounts for the cultural transmission of the scarabs' symbolism and magic to the Canaanites. Based on these ties, it may be assumed that there was an exchange of ideas between the peoples of the Levant (Ben-Tor 2007; Goodenough 1988). Like the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and specifically the inhabitants of MB and LB Ashkelon, may have valued scarabs for their magical protective qualities during life and for their regenerative qualities in

the afterlife. Their importance is underscored not only by the sheer quantity of scarabs found in Canaan, but also by the fact that they were used in the funerary context.

Toggle Pins

Toggle Pins, like scarabs, are often considered to be a personal item, but because they were consistently found with skeletal remains, it seems appropriate to include them as a component of the funeral kit. Approximately seventy-nine toggle pins were recovered from MB-LB tomb context at Ashkelon.³⁴ Of these, 34 (43%) were directly associated with a burial, and 45 (57%) were discovered in the debris of secondary sweeps. They were usually situated either on or near the shoulder, the neck, or on the ground above the shoulder. As mentioned above, it is known from several sources that the corpse was washed, anointed, and dressed in a garment for burial (Genesis 50:2–3; I Samuel 28:14; 2 Chronicles 16:14; Mt. 27:59; Mk. 15:46; Lk. 23:53; Jn. 11:44, 19:39–40; Epic of Gilgamesh in Speiser 1969; A. Cohen 2005; Bloch-Smith 1992; Gonen 1992:20; Hallote 2001; Xella 1995). At Jericho, Kenyon (1960) observed that enough burial garments had survived to suggest that bodies were in fact clothed and that a toggle pin was utilized to secure the garment usually on the left shoulder or ribs; although, there were instances where the pin was discovered on the right shoulder. At Ashkelon, although the fabric had disintegrated, the presence of toggle pins and the fact they were discovered on or near the left or right shoulder suggest these corpses were also adorned in a burial garment. Additionally, the preservation of toggle pins at Ashkelon was also not very good; although some managed to survive they are badly corroded and fragmented as a result of the harsh climate. Most of the toggle pins were made of bronze while a few were made from bone, silver, and gold. Those that were not too badly corroded fit into Henschel-Simon's typological groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, or 8. Among those that survived, there seem to be two types of pins: long and short. The longest pin is as much as 10.1 cm. The shortest is approximately 3.6 cm, and the thickest approximately 6 mm.

Similar toggle pins have been discovered at sites such as Megiddo in Str. XIII B, types 3 and 8a (Loud 1948, Pl. 219:11, 12), Str. XII, types 2, 3, 6a, 8a, b (Loud 1948, Pl. 229), Str. XI, types 3, 6a, 8a (Loud 1948, Pl. 221), Str. X, types 3, 5, 6a, 7 (Loud 1948, Pl. 222), and Str. IX, types 3, 6a, 7, 9 (Loud 1948, Pl. 223); Lachish, in the Middle and Late

Bronze Ages, including types 3, 7, 8a, b, c, and 9b (Tufnell 1958, Pl. 24). At Tell Dan five pins were discovered in burial contexts and include types 7 and 6b (Ilan 1996:234); at Aphek pins from the MB IIA context include types 2 and 8a (Bunimovitz 2000:276); and at Tell el-Far'ah (South) in tombs F570, F567, and F556 (Price-Williams 1973) and at Gibeon in tombs 18, 22, 44, and 45, types 3, 5, 6b, 7, and 9b (Pritchard 1963). Thus the types of toggle pins found at Ashkelon are similar to those from contemporaneous sites in Canaan.

The Food

Because food was an essential element in the funerary ceremony, it is reasonable to ask what sort of culinary delights were included in the funerary menu (Horwitz 1996, 2002; Lev-Tov and Maher 2001). Preliminary observations of the flora and fauna remnants identified in Ashkelon's tombs indicate that the funerary meal remained largely unchanged over time; although the quality of the meat cuts became increasingly better as time went on (Lipovitch 2002).³⁵ Sheep/goat skeletal remains were abundant in the chambers and were often found in clusters on the chamber floor near human remains, under overturned bowls, or *in situ* inside platter-bowls. For example, a large open plain ware bowl from Chamber 14, Secondary Depositional Group 105, still contained the skulls of two sheep/goats (Baker 2003). Other food remnants included olives, grapes, fish, shellfish, and turtles.

From a variety of sources we know much of what comprised the ancients' diet and by extension the funerary meal and offering. In Egypt, for example, bread, cakes, vegetables, figs, dates, raisins, wheat corn, barley, fish, fowl, bulls, calves, and beer were included in the funerary meal (Roth 1988; Silverman 1997). In Mesopotamia, the menu could consist of sheep/goat, three jars of beer, eighty loaves of flat bread, three measures of grain, one bed, one head support and one chair (Grinsell 1975; Roth 1992; Katz 2008). In the third millennium BCE, a decree by Urukagina, king of Lagash, limited the amount of food items left in graves, apparently because too much food was being deposited in the tombs, which rotted and/or attracted vermin. At Jericho, where the state of preservation was quite good in the tombs, the funerary feast consisted of bread, pomegranates, grapes, raisins, figs, wine and roasted meat or mutton, served on large ceramic or wooden dishes (Kenyon 1960; Gruber 1995). The funerary meal found in the later tomb of King Midas

at Gordion consisted of grape wine, barley beer, honey mead, roasted sheep/goat, lentils, olive oil, and flat bread (McGovern 2000). These food items seem to have been consumed not only in the mortuary setting, but during other festive occasions and on a daily basis as well (Gruber 1995). Other daily food items included fish, fowl, vegetables, and fruits, as well as condiments such as salt, cumin, honey and date jam (Gruber 1995; MacDonald 2008). The artifactual evidence indicates that the daily diet was mirrored in the mortuary setting either in part or in whole, underscoring the intention of providing daily sustenance for the deceased.

Burial Clusters

Earlier in this chapter, reference was made to the clustering of burials in specific zones of the tomb. A burial cluster consists of two or more individuals who were deposited next to, on top of, or overlapping each other. It became apparent while analyzing the field notes and top plans relative to the funeral kit, that burials were clustered in what appear to be clearly defined zones of the chamber tombs. This observation led me to consider the possibility that the placement of interments in the tombs may not necessarily be random or entirely based on available space, but instead according to the predetermined space that each familial group occupied within it. If this is true, then clusters probably represent smaller family units (nuclear or extended) within the larger clan that is assumed to have owned these tomb complexes.³⁶

As previously stated, the crudely carved subfloor niches found in Chamber 5 initially accommodated primary deposits providing enduring resting places for the deceased as well as a convenient way to preserve the integrity of the body (Gonen 1992). The niches contained varying quantities of burials in differing combinations of age and sex, which may suggest that these clusters represent familial organization within the clan (Baker 2003; 2010).³⁷ If this is true then the niches would also offer well defined spaces within the tomb to delineate the smaller family units and maintain familial organization. To illustrate, several clusters in Chamber 5 will be considered (Figure 3.1; Appendix A). In the North Repository, three adults—Burials 112, 113, and 114—were deposited one on top of the other. These were oriented in an east-west direction; two were placed with their heads toward the east, one to the west. The East Burial Niche and the Sandy Burial Niche each contained a cluster of four individuals. These were oriented in a north-south direction with the heads toward the

north. The Sandy Burial Niche cluster included a child. In two instances, an adult was buried with a child or an infant. For example, in the Hidden Burial Niche, an adult female held an infant in her arms. At some point the niches were filled and could no longer accommodate additional interments, so new burials and their grave goods were deposited on the central floor, which had been free of burial deposits. It is difficult to imagine that familial organization was maintained once interments were deposited on the central floor, and then swept aside for new interments.

The importance of familial organization within the extended clan may be underscored in the later chambers wherein maintenance of the nuclear family may have been achieved by the clustering of individuals in specific zones of the tomb but without the use of niches. The architectural layout of these tombs (Subcomplexes 7/10/11/12 and 13/14/16) appears to have addressed the issue of the limited capacity of the niches while at the same time providing space for the clan to distinguish the smaller family units that comprised it. There are several examples (Figure 3.1; Appendix A) that illustrate the clustering of burials in the later subcomplexes. In Chamber 11, three deposits, Burials 59, 60, and 61, represent a cluster in the southwest corner of that tomb. This cluster comprised of three individuals: two adults (one male, one female) and a child (male). The two males (Burials 60 and 61) were oriented with their heads toward the north and one (Burial 59) with her head to the south. Several clusters in Chamber 13 contained multiple individuals. Located next to the western wall, Burials 121, 122, and 150 were placed on top of and overlapping one another. All were oriented in a north-south direction with their heads toward the north. All three were adult males. The largest concentration of successive deposits was located in Chamber 13 next to the eastern wall. This cluster contained about eight individuals that were situated next to, on top of, and overlapping each other; although, several were disturbed as the result of making space for the newer interment. This cluster consisted of six children and two adults, one male and one female. Another example in Chamber 14 includes an older adult male and adult female (Burials 158 and 157) who were deposited facing each other adjacent to the western wall. In some clusters, all were deposited in the same direction while in others, individuals were deposited in a crisscross manner, facing each other. Perhaps the crisscross orientation was intended to underscore the intimate relationship between husband and wife, parent(s) and child(ren). On the whole, this later stage in burial practices, where interments and their grave goods were either pushed aside to make room

for a new deposit or the newcomer was placed next to, overlapping, or on top of the earlier burial(s), was much less destructive to the integrity of the individuals' remains than the later secondary sweeps attested to in Chamber 5, where the skeleton and grave goods were swept from the center of the chamber as debris into or near a niche.

The purpose of multiple-burial, chamber tombs is multifaceted; with one aspect being to demonstrate familial organization; death did not sever kinship ties but instead defined and reinforced them. Ritual, persona, and status were demonstrated by accompanying grave goods; but, familial relationships may have been demonstrated by burial clusters. At Ashkelon, architectural features and use of interior space within the chamber tombs probably demonstrates familial organization, represented by burial clusters deposited either in niches or specific areas of the chamber tombs.

Concluding Remarks

It is from these data that the concept of a funeral kit was born. After observing the repetitive nature of ceramic vessel types and the predictable presence of scarabs and toggle pins that accompanied those buried in Ashkelon's tombs, it became apparent that more than merely persona and status were being communicated by the grave goods. Personal characteristics and stratified wealth were usually denoted by items unique to a single individual or group who share the same status. However, the recurring portion of grave goods considered to be essential equipment, suggests that each individual was buried in accordance with well-established rites, rituals, and ceremonies. Archaeologically, the ceramic vessels of the funeral kit serve as the artifactual evidence of the last meal shared with and in honor of the deceased, binding the survivors both with the deceased and with each other. These standardized mortuary practices reflect well-established traditions that bound families, friends, and communities as they mourned their loss. Furthermore, the presence of essential equipment in the form of foodstuffs reflect the Canaanite afterlife scenario wherein the deceased must be outfitted with sustenance by surviving family, as it will not be provided for them in the netherworld. Amulets, in the form of scarabs, may have ensured magical protection of the spirit on its journey into the next life, and toggle pins reflected the practical aspect of dressing the deceased for the wake as well as for the journey to and arrival in the afterlife.

Chapter 4

The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan (MB IIB/C—LB II)



Utilizing Ashkelon as the prototype, the funeral kit model can be applied to other excavated MB–LB chamber tombs and burials in Canaan. A comparative analysis reveals that the funeral kit observed at Ashkelon was not an isolated phenomenon, but a significant example of the intentional deposition of a semistandard ceramic and nonceramic set, or funeral kit, that represents a long-standing, well-established, and widespread Canaanite tradition. Analysis of the burials and associated mortuary assemblages from these contemporary tombs demonstrates that the patterns found in the tomb complex at Ashkelon can be observed in wider Canaan as well (Appendix B).

To substantiate these claims, the published evidence from contemporary chamber tombs will be examined and a summary of the chronologically and regionally specific funeral kit will be described using examples from sites such as Acco, Tell Abu Hawam, Tell el-‘Ajjul, Beth Shean, Dan, Tell Dothan, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), Tell el-Far‘ah (North), Gibeon, Hazor, Jericho, Lachish, Sarepta, and Tel Aviv Harbor (Appendix B). The methodology employed for gathering comparative information was similar to that used for the Ashkelon’s burials. The top plans, photographs, and commentary provided by published reports were studied; only burials from chamber tombs (rock-cut or built³⁸) were included in the comparative analysis. Whenever possible, burials from the same

elevation, layer, or phase within the same tomb or between different tombs were grouped together. Tombs containing single interments were valuable because they provided a closed context in which to view the funerary set free from contamination by other burials in the same chamber. Similarly, in multiple burial, tombs where numerous individuals were clustered, assignment of grave goods was based on what is now known about funerary sets and their proximity to the corpse within the range of 70 cm as at Ashkelon. The sampling was used because it best exemplifies the funerary sets according to chronological period and geographic region, but it should not be considered exhaustive. As much as possible, tombs and burials from the same sites will be used for both the MB and the LB in order to demonstrate continuous development and commonality of practice. The data will be presented alphabetically by site, discussing details from relevant tombs and burials. To demonstrate the essential funerary assemblage, the components of the funeral kit and the distribution of them around the corpse will be illustrated using generic skeletons that correspond to the burial position. From the presented data, it will become evident that there were chronological developments and regional variations among the ceramic components of the funeral kit; however, despite these changes and variations, the essential function of the funeral kit remained constant.

The Funeral Kit in Middle Bronze Age IIB–IIC Canaan Middle Bronze Age IIA and IIA–IIB Transition

In keeping with the Ashkelon model, MB ceramic funerary assemblages can be divided into two stages: early MB IIB, representing the transition of burial habits from MB IIA to early MB IIB; and later MB IIB–IIC, which represents the completed transition with developments that continue throughout the LB II period. Middle Bronze IIA and IIA–B transition burials were rather simple, consisting of one or several bowl(s) (open and/or carinated), juglet(s), jug(s), and pitcher(s) and/or jar(s); and the corpse was most often arranged in the fetal position. Examples of these can be found at Aphek in Tomb 2121 (MB IIA) and in Tombs 468 (Yadin and Kochavi 2000:156 [MB IIA]), 494 (Yadin and Kochavi 2000:142 [MB IIA]), and 576 (Yadin and Kochavi 2000:143 [MB IIA]); Fassuta (Gershuny and Aviam 2010); Gesher (Figure 4.1 [MB IIA]); Dan 4244 (Ilán 1996:168–171 [MB IIA]); at Kabri in Tombs 498, 984, 990 (Figure 4.1) and Tombs 502 and 503 (Kempinski and Scheffelowitz

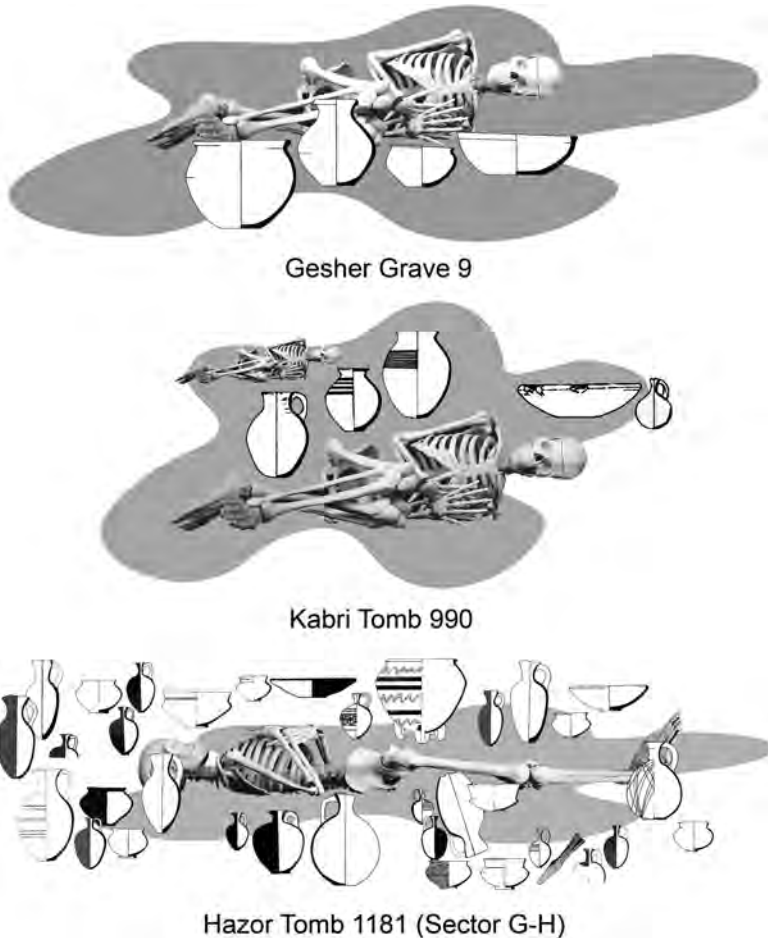


Figure 4.1. Middle Bronze IIA and IIA–B transition burials in wider Canaan. These reconstructed burials illustrate the presumed position at the time of burial with the components of the funeral kit distributed around the corpse. Gesher, Grave 9 is adapted from Garfinkel and Cohen (2007); Kabri, Tomb 990 is adapted from Kempinski and Scheftelowitz (2002); and Hazor, Tomb 1181, Sector G–H is adapted from Maeir (1997). Not to scale.

2002:50–53); Hazor Tomb 1181, Sector G–H (Figure 4.1 [transitional MBIIA–B]).

The transition from MB IIA to early MB IIB period is marked by an increase in the quantity of ceramic items, incorporation of new domestic ceramic types, the appearance of imported wares, and a shift in burial position. The quantity of ceramic items found with early MB

IIB burials could typically be as few as two and as many as thirteen (in some instances more). These assemblages included combinations of carinated bowls; goblets or globular bowls; platter or open bowls; lamps; dipper-juglets; red-slipped, burnished piriform juglets; ovoid-shaped, burnished juglets; a jug/jar(s); and on occasion, kraters (some with three looped feet) and a store jar(s). Ceramic forms such as the ovoid-shaped, red-slipped, burnished juglets with button bases gradually replaced the small (squat) red- or black-burnished, piriform juglets. In some burials (e.g., from Tell el-‘Ajjul, Dan), imported vessels in the form of Tell el-Yahudiyeh and/or Cypriot juglets were incorporated into the sets. The components of the funeral kit were predictably clustered around the head, torso, and/or feet of the deceased. Scarabs and toggle pins were deposited with increasing regularity at this time. In the MB IIA and early MB IIB periods, the dominant burial position was flexed, on either the left or right side. However, with increasing frequency, the corpse was arranged in a supine-flexed or supine-extended position so that by the MB IIB–IIC periods, this was the dominant posture.

While comparing burials of the MB IIA and early MB IIB periods, it became apparent that there were both regional similarities and differences. For example, carinated bowls, ovoid-shaped juglets (plain ware and red- burnished), and dipper-juglets appear to have been common to nearly every site in almost every region. Single-handled jars and two-handled store jars were not placed with every burial; however, they were deposited with enough frequency to consider them relatively predictable components. Regional variations can be observed by the inclusion of medium- and large-size platter-bowls and the use of goblets and globular bowls. Medium- and large-size platter-bowls were utilized with greater frequency in the central and northern regions, but to a lesser extent in the south until the MB IIB–IIC periods. Goblets/globular bowls were often deposited in graves in the northern and central sites, but were less frequent in the southern regions. As a further example, imported wares were not placed into graves consistently at this time, except for Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware and some Cypriot forms that appeared in burials at northern coastal and inland sites such as Kabri and Dan.

Middle Bronze IIB–IIC Funeral Kits in Canaan

The later MB IIB and all of the MB IIC assemblages reflect both the continuity and development in burial practices that would continue

through the LB II period. The practices that were carried over from the early MB IIB period included the consistent deposit of a relatively predictable ceramic assemblage around the cranium, torso, and feet and the presence of scarabs and toggle pins. New practices can be identified by the deposition of the corpse in a predominantly supine-flexed or supine-extended position; an increase in the quantity of ceramic vessels; replacement of earlier vessel types with new ones, greater diversity in domestic vessel types, and greater quantity of imported materials. The examples that best represent the funeral kit during the MB IIB–C period include: Tell el-‘Ajjul, Tomb 1406 (A) (Petrie 1932:16, Pl. LIV); Tell Beit Mirsim, Tombs 2, 7, 21, 24, 33 (Ben-Arieh 2004); Dan, Tombs 4663, 349, and 187a–b (Ilan 1996:172–178, 183–187); Dhaharah el-Humraiya, Grave 2 (Ory 1948:75–91, Figure 2); Jericho, Tomb B35, Layer D (Figure 4.2), J3 (Kenyon 1960:306–314), and J14 (Figure 4.2); Tell el-Far‘ah (South), Tombs 550, 551 (Petrie 1930 Pl. XVII and Price-Williams 1977:19–34), and 570 (Petrie 1930 Pl. XVII; Price-Williams 1977); Tell el-Far‘ah (North) Tomb 1 (de Vaux 1951:399–401, Figure 4), Tomb 3 (Figure 4.2), Tomb AM (Mallett 1973:54–63), Tomb AN (Figure 4.2), Tomb H, and Tomb X (de Vaux 1949:106–106 Pl. b, Mallett 1973:54–63, Mallett 1973:87–90, and de Vaux 1948:577–580 Pl. XXI:b); Lachish Tombs 119 (Tufnell 1958:228–229) and 153 (Tufnell 1958:228–229, 230–231).

The funeral kit of the MB IIB–IIC periods might include as many as twenty vessels; these may occur in various combinations of small, medium, and large carinated bowls, platter-bowls, rounded/hemispheric bowls, goblets/globular bowls, cylindrical juglets, dipper-juglets, red-slipped and burnished, ovoid-shaped juglets, and store jars/large jars. Some types, such as carinated bowls of all sizes, continued in use; while medium and large-size carinated bowls were utilized with greater regularity. Platter-bowls, which were common predominantly in the northern and central regions in the preceding phase, were utilized in all regions during this phase. The other ceramic types that continued into this phase included the dipper-juglets—some found inside store jars; red-burnished, ovoid-shaped juglets—but with less frequency; jars; and store jars. The small piriform juglets (red- or black-burnished) went out of use almost entirely.

Several domestic ceramic types were introduced into the funerary repertoire during this phase. One was the two-handled, open bowl, some with red crosses painted on the interiors. While these were not

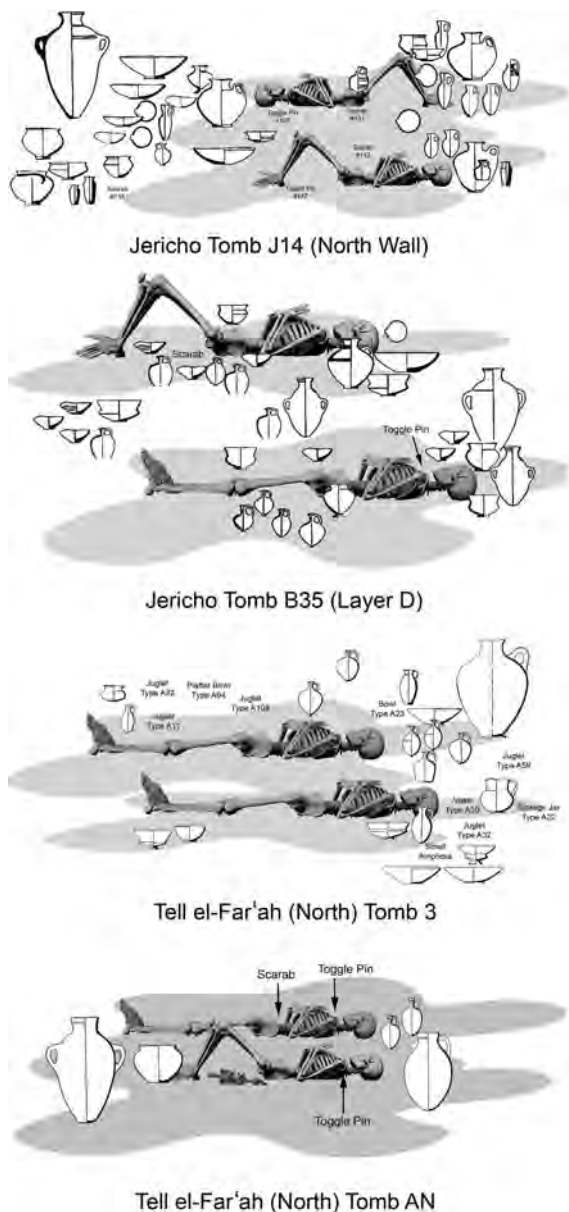


Figure 4.2. MB II B–C funeral kit in wider Canaan. The reconstructed burials illustrate the presumed burial position at the time of burial with the funeral kit components (ceramics, scarabs, and toggle pins) distributed around the corpse. Jericho, Tombs J14 (North Wall) and B35 (Layer D) are adapted from Kenyon (1960); Tell el-Far'ah (North), Tombs 3 and AN are adapted from de Vaux (1948, 1949), Mallett (1973). Not to scale.

common to all burials in all regions; they do appear frequently enough to warrant treating them as occasional components of the funeral kit. These occurred at sites such as Tell el-Far'ah (South) in Tomb 554 (Price-Williams 1977:35–38, Figure 18:2), and at Lachish in Cave 1552 (Tufnell 1958, Pl. 69:579). Another addition included the cylindrical jug, which became a regular component of the ceramic set during this period and appears to have replaced the oval-shaped, red burnished juglets. These were deposited with burials at Tell el-Far'ah (South) in Tombs 550, 551, and 559 (Petrie 1930; Price-Williams 1977), and Lachish in Tombs 119 and 153 (Tufnell 1958:228–229, 230–231). A third addition included lamps as at Tell el-Far'ah (South) in Tomb 551, at Jericho in Tomb B35, Layer D (Figure 4.1), and at Lachish in Tomb 119. While proper lamps were utilized, make-shift bowl-lamps were used with equal if not greater frequency. Make-shift bowl-lamps were refashioned carinated bowls that were broken off at the carination and reused for illumination (cf. Jericho, Tomb B3 [Kenyon 1960:396 Pl. XIX:4]); Hazor, Tomb 1181 (Maier 1997:299–301, Figure IV.3:16, 17). Finally, kraters and deep bowls, some with three-looped feet, were common at northern and inland sites such as at Hazor in Tomb 1181 (Maier 1997, Figure IV.3:15); Tell el-Far'ah (North) in Tombs G (de Vaux 1948 Figure 16:2), H, and X (de Vaux 1949); and at Jericho in Tomb B35 (Kenyon 1960:368–393).

It was during this phase that imported Cypriot wares and Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware became well-established components, yet domestic wares dominate the composition of the ceramic sets. The most commonly deposited Cypriot wares included White Painted V–VI Cross Line Style, Pendent Line Style, and Wavy Line Style (Åström 1972, Figure IX:3–4, 5, and 12), appearing mostly in the form of juglets. These were found at sites such as Tell el-'Ajjul in Tomb 1406(A) (Petrie 1932:16 Pl. LIV), Dhaharah el-Humraiya in Grave 2 (Ory 1948:75–91, Figure 2), and Ashkelon in Secondary Depositional Group 61 (Baker 2003:70–71, 2006:11–13).

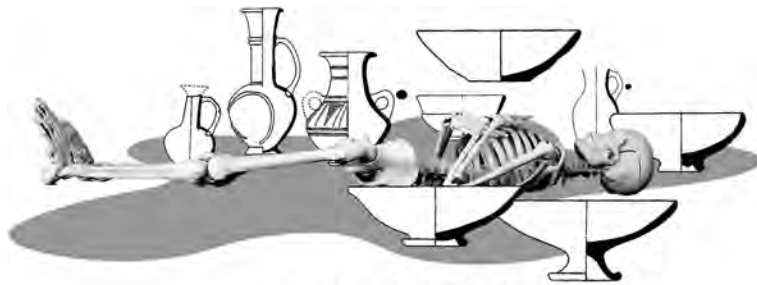
The ceramic elements of the MB IIB–IIC funerary assemblages were largely homogenous; although, there were some regional variations. In their assemblages, some of the northern coastal and inland regions, for example, incorporated kraters, some with three looped feet, and goblets/globular bowls. As for Cypriot imports and Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, these were incorporated into the assemblages of mostly northern and southern coastal sites as well as at some northern and southern

inland sites, though to a lesser extent. In these regional assemblages, both Cypriot and Tell el-Yahudiyeh wares appeared primarily in the form of juglets, but in modest quantities. Throughout the MB IIB–IIC periods, scarabs and toggle pins were included in the burial sets in all regions. Scarabs were usually found near the neck and abdominal regions as these were worn as necklaces, bracelets, and rings (Kenyon 1960:266; Aldred 1971:160–61). Toggle pins were often found on the left or right shoulder or on the torso as these were meant to hold the garment closed (Henschel-Simon 1932:169–172; Kenyon 1960:266; Gruber 1995:641–42; Irvin 1997:39).

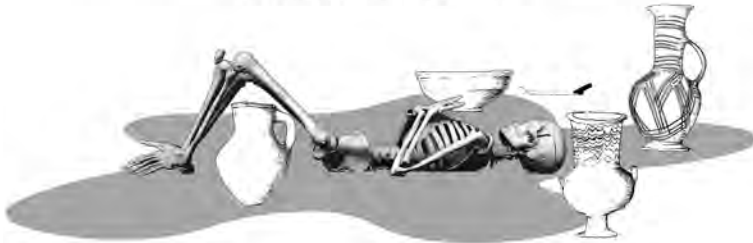
The Late Bronze I–II Funeral Kit in Canaan

The distinctive features of the LB I and LB II funeral kit differed from that of the MB IIA–IIC in several ways: there was a substantial increase in the quantity of ceramic components; new domestic ceramic forms were incorporated; and there was an increase in the quantity and type of imported items such as Cypriot and Mycenaean wares.

During the LB, the number of ceramics deposited with an individual could total as many as twenty-four in combinations of carinated bowls, plain ware platter or open bowls, rounded bowls, chalices, dipper-juglets, juglets, pitchers, lamps, jars, and store jars. Scarabs and toggle pins continued in use and were predictably located at the neck, finger, and stomach region of the body for scarabs and the shoulder region for toggle pins. The burial position remained predominantly supine-flexed or supine-extended, with the placement of grave goods mainly around the cranium, feet and torso. The burials that best represent the funeral kit during the LB I–II period may be found at sites such as Tell Abu Hawam Tomb 1 (Anati 1959:89–102), Tell el-‘Ajjul Tomb 1514 (Petrie 1932:15–16 Pl. VII), Beth Shean in Tombs 27 (Oren 1973:6, Figures 35–38), 29A (Figure 4.3), and C (Oren 1973:7, Figures 4.1, 39–40); Dan in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002); Tell Beit Mirsim Tombs 1, 4, 100, and 500 (Ben-Arieh 2004); Tell Dothan in Tomb 1 (Cooley and Pratico 1994); Tell el-Far‘a (South) in Tombs 905, Burial E (Starkey and Harding 1932:23), 920, 914, and 960, (Starkey and Harding 1932:23–25); Tell el-Far‘ah (North), Tomb 6 (de Vaux 1951b:568–571); Gezer in Tomb 10a (Figure 4.3); Gibeon in Cave 10 A–B (Pritchard 1963:11–17); Hazor in Tomb 8065 (Yadin 1960:141–142) and 8144–8145 (Yadin 1960:140–141; 145–153); Lachish in Tombs 1003 (Tufnell 1958:250–252), 4002–3, 4013 and 4019 (Tufnell 1958:250–252,



Beth Shean Tomb 29A



Gezer Tomb 10a "Sarah"



Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Tomb 102

Figure 4.3. LB I–II funeral kit in wider Canaan. The reconstructed burials illustrate the presumed burial positions and artifact distributions at the time of interment. Beth Shean, Tomb 29A is adapted from Oren (1973); Gezer, Tomb 10a "Sarah" is adapted from Seger (1988); and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tomb 102 is adapted from Pritchard (1980). Not to scale.

280–281, 286–288, 288); Sarepta (Baramki 1959); and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in Tombs 102 (Figure 4.3), 110, and 123 (Pritchard 1980:19, 23).

Additions to the LB domestic ceramic funerary kit repertoire included V-shaped bowls, biconical jugs, kraters, pilgrim flasks (domestic), and pitchers. The use of proper lamps became prolific in the LB I–II periods and make-shift bowl-lamps went out of use almost entirely. Occasionally cooking pots appeared, although not frequently enough to consider them

to be regular components of the ceramic funerary set. However, it should be noted that some were discovered at northern inland and central sites such as Hazor in Tombs 8065 and 8144–8145 (Yadin 1960:141–142); Beth Shean, Tomb 29 (Figure 4.3); Dan in Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002); and Gibeon in Tomb 10B (Pritchard 1963:18, Fig. 11:52–54).

During the LB, imported items become more prolific and in some cases dominated the assemblages. Cypriot wares continued to be deposited and Mycenaean wares were incorporated in large quantity at this time. Not only did these imported items appear in greater quantity but also with greater typological diversity than in the previous periods. Imported Cypriot wares appeared in the form of Base Ring I and II bowls, flasks, juglets, and jugs; Monochrome Ware bowls, flasks, juglets, and jugs; White Painted Ware in the form of bowls, juglets, and spouted juglets; Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets; and White Shaved, dipper-juglets. Mycenaean imports included pyxis jars, stirrup jars, bowls, piriform vases, and pilgrim flasks.

Similar to the funeral kit of the MB IIB–IIC, the ceramic components of the LB I–II funeral kit were relatively homogenous but regional variations can be observed as well. Biconical jars/jugs and kraters were utilized with greater frequency at northern inland sites than they were at southern sites. Chalice bowls were utilized more at inland sites and with greater frequency as the LB progressed. Finally, in the case of imported items on the whole, it seems that funerary sets in the southern region (including sites such as Tell el-Far‘ah (South), Tell el-‘Ajjul, and Lachish) incorporated more Cypriot wares than Mycenaean, and in some cases Cypriot items occur in greater quantity than local wares. Of the Cypriot imported wares, Black Lustrous, Wheel-made juglets appear to have been used with greater frequency in the southern regions at sites such as Ashkelon. In the central region (Beth Shean, Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh, and Tell Abu Hawam), there seems to be a mixture of Cypriot and Mycenaean wares in the burial assemblages. While in the northern regions (Sarepta, Dan, and Hazor), the burial groups seem to be dominated by Mycenaean imports. At one site, however, Tell Dothan in Tomb 1 (LB II–Iron I), the funerary assemblage was significantly different from most of the LB II groups (Cooley and Pratico 1994a:47–58). The ceramic repertoire from Tomb 1 consisted mostly of domestic ware, for example bowls, biconical jugs/jars, chalice bowls, pitchers, lamps, and domestic imitation of imported vessels such as pyxis jars. While Cypriot and Mycenaean wares were present, they occurred in a very small quantity (Pratico and Cooley 1994a:162, 1994b:82).

Burial Clusters

While compiling the data for the funeral kit assemblages in the wider geographical area of Canaan, it also became apparent that in some tombs, interments were deposited in clusters, especially in the multiple-burial, chamber tombs, both rock-cut and built.³⁹ It has already been noted that in many multiple-burial, chamber tombs, the confusing, intertwined mass of human remains and grave goods has long been considered to be the result of randomly placed deposits based on the available or created space. Since these clusters often include individuals of varying age and sex, the random placement of them seemed the most plausible explanation. However, closer scrutiny may reveal a certain degree of order on the ancient's part, making use of interior space and architectural features to help maintain familial organization within the larger clan.⁴⁰ If burial with one's family was as important as textual references indicate (see above chapter), then burial clusters are the archaeological and artifactual representation of that concept.⁴¹ To investigate this notion, the clusters observed at MB IIB–IIC sites such as Tell el-‘Ajjul, Beth Shean, Dan, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), Tell el-Far‘ah (North), Gibeon, Gezer, Hazor, Tell Jedur, Jericho, Megiddo, and Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh are analyzed below (Appendix C).

At Tell el-‘Ajjul in MB Tombs 263 (Figure 4.4), 246, 407, 411, and 445, niches were used to house primary burials. These niches were either round (e.g., Tombs 246, 406, and 411) or rectangular (e.g., Tombs 263, and 407) and cut either above floor level in the wall or as subfloor niches. From these tombs, at least five (probably seven according to Petrie's plan (1931, Pl. LVII)) of the niches each contained two individuals who were placed “feet-to-feet” (Petrie 1931:4), facing each other. Petrie speculated that these duos may represent husband and wife; however, two of the pairs were those of an adult male with a male child and a female with a child of undetermined sex (Petrie 1931:4, Pl. LVII). It is possible that this manner of positioning reflected the intimate nature of their relationship. Also at Tell el-‘Ajjul, in Tomb 1166 (Figure 4.4), a crypt-like and suprafloor niche was used to house primary burials in clusters within the larger, rectangular-shaped chamber. In this tomb, four clusters totaling fourteen people can be identified (age and sex of the interred were not reported); but the orientation was not clear from Petrie's publication. These were distributed among four distinct zones in the chamber: five individuals were clustered in

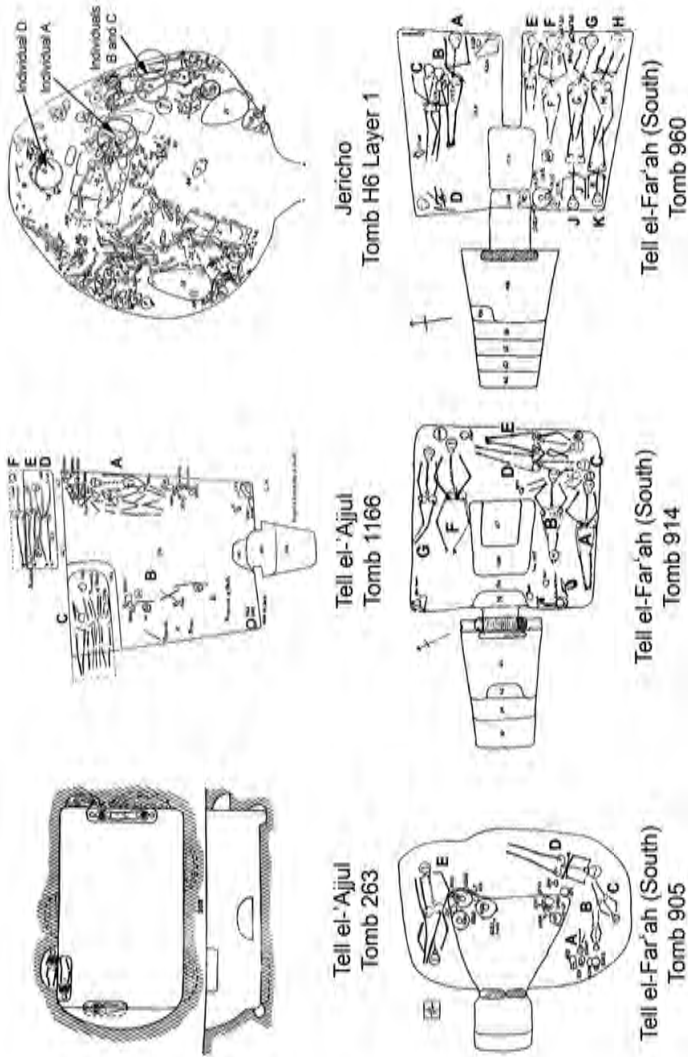


Figure 4.4. Burial clusters in Wider Canaan. The selected tombs illustrate the grouping of burials within chamber tombs. Groups, or clusters, may consist of two or more individuals in combinations of varying age and sex. No matter what the tombs' interior architectural features, clustering appears to have been practiced throughout the Bronze Age. Tell el-'Ajjul, Tomb 263 is adapted from Petrie (1931); Tell el-'Ajjul, Tomb 1166 is adapted from Petrie (1932); Jericho, Tomb H6 is adapted from Kenyon (1960); and Tell el-Far'ah (South), Tombs 905, 914, and 960 are adapted from Starkey and Harding (1932). Not to scale.

Area A, two in Area B, four in the crypt in Area C, and three in the niche at the rear wall labeled as D, E, and F (Petrie 1932:15, Pl. LIII; Gonen 1992:128–129).

Burial clustering without the aid of niches or crypts is evident at Tell el-Far‘ah (South) in Tombs 902, 532 (Petrie 1930:6, Pls. XV, XIX) 905, 914, and 960 (Figure 4.3 [Starkey and Harding 1932:23, Pl. LIX; Gonen 1992:127–132]). Tomb 905 was a rectangular-shaped, bench tomb that contained three clusters totaling five, possibly six, individuals (the orientation was not discernable from publication) all in a supine-extended position. Three individuals (A, B, and C) were located next to the southwestern wall (right of the entrance) oriented in an east-west direction with their heads to the west. One (D) was situated next to the southeastern wall, to the east of A, B, and C, at their feet and was oriented in roughly a north-south direction with the head to the south. Individual E was next to the northern wall (left of the entrance) in an east-west direction with the head to the east (Starkey and Harding 1932:23, Pl. LIX). Another bench tomb, 914, with a stepped dromos, passageway, and rectangular chamber also exhibited clustering. In this tomb, three clusters containing seven individuals were deposited in a supine-extended position (age and sex not reported). Two individuals (A and B) were deposited next to the southern wall, right of the doorway and were oriented in a roughly east-west direction with their heads to the east (Starkey and Harding 1932:23, Pl. LIX). Three individuals (C, D, and E) were situated next to the south-southeastern wall with their heads to the south, overlapping the crania of A and B. Two more individuals (F and G) were located next to the north-northeast wall in a roughly east-west direction with their heads to the east (Starkey and Harding 1932:23, Pl. LIX).

Tomb 960 was a bilobate, bench tomb with a stepped dromos, passageway, and rectangular chambers; approximately four clusters totaling ten individuals were contained within. The individuals in these clusters were all in a supine-extended position; however, their age and sex were not reported. In the northern chamber, a cluster of four individuals were located to the left of the doorway; three (A, B, C) were oriented in an east-west direction with their heads to the east and the fourth (D) was probably an earlier burial that had been swept aside and was in the northwest corner of the chamber. Six individuals were in the southern chamber; four (E, F, G, H) were side-by-side, oriented in an east-west direction with their heads to the east. Two others were

also oriented east-west but their heads were toward the west, facing the other four (Starkey and Harding 1932:25–26, Pl. LIX).

On occasion, individuals were situated around a stone or mud brick platform, as in Tomb 57 at Gibeon (Pritchard 1963:58–60) and Tombs J14 and H6 at Jericho (Kenyon 1965:312–332 and 1960:453–469). At Gibeon, Tomb 57 was a shaft tomb with a rounded chamber, oriented in a roughly east-west direction. Two stone platforms were located in the northwestern area of the chamber, on which was found a storage jar. Situated on the tomb floor, just in front of the entryway and next to the platform, were two skeletons, represented by Skulls A and D, placed next to each other with their heads oriented roughly toward the northeast. Next to Skull A was that of an infant (Skull B). Another individual, represented by Skull C, was located just north of the westernmost platform, on the tomb floor.

At Jericho, Tombs H6 and J14 (Figure 4.3) and were shaft tombs with rounded chambers, both contained mud brick platforms (Kenyon 1965:312–332 and 1960:453–469). Tomb J14 was oriented roughly north to south. The mud brick platform in the central part of the tomb held a child (skeleton P) and an adult (part of skeleton F). East of the platform were two individuals (skeletons C and L), which were deposited in a supine-extended position, in a crisscross manner (or facing each other), oriented in a north-south direction with the head of individual C toward the south and that of individual L to the north. Two more individuals were clustered next to the north wall, represented by skeletons J and K, which appear to have been oriented in a roughly east-west direction with the heads to the west, as dictated by the architectural layout of the tomb. In Tomb H6, the mud brick platform was located toward the central rear area of the chamber and on it was an adult male (skeleton A) in a supine-flexed position. On the floor around the platform were three other burials; two (B and C) were clustered next to the platform and next to each other in a supine-extended position, and one was located next to the rear wall of the chamber in a supine-flexed position. Individual B was an adult of unreported sex; C and D were children of different ages. Kenyon presumes this was a family unit (Kenyon 1960:454–455).

Familial relationships may also be represented by adult-child(ren) clusters. For example, there are numerous instances wherein an adult, usually female, was buried with an infant and/or a child(ren). Several such clusters may be exemplified at Tell el-‘Ajjul, Aphek, Tell el-Far‘ah (North), Kabri, Megiddo, and Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh. In a niched tomb (407)

at Tell el-‘Ajjul, a man held a child in his arms, and a woman held a child in her arms. Petrie speculates this family died together as the result of “pestilence” (Petrie 1931:4, Figure LVII). At Aphek, in Tomb 2127, an adult female was buried with a one-and-a-half year old infant and a child between three and six. At Tell el-Far‘ah (North), two women were buried in Tomb AN, both side-by-side in a supine-flexed position; one with an infant between her flexed legs (Figure 4.2 above). At Kabri in Tomb 990 (Figure 4.1 above) an adult and a child were buried together, each in a flexed position with their heads to the east. At Megiddo, an adult female was buried in a flexed position on her left side, holding a child in her arms with a second child at her feet (Guy 1938:57–59). Finally, at Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh in Tomb 123, a woman was buried in a supine-extended position with a child placed on her right shoulder (Pritchard 1980:23); similarly in Tomb 128, an adult was buried with a child on the left shoulder (Pritchard 1980:24). Whatever the cause or sequence of death, these burial combinations probably represent parent-child relationships.

Discussion and Conclusion

The patterns observed when applying the Ashkelon, funeral kit, model to other contemporary Canaanite burials suggest that the funeral kit employed at Ashkelon was not a unique phenomenon. Assemblages consisting of ceramic vessels, toggle pin(s), and scarab(s), were regularly deposited with most MB–LB Canaanite burials. The repetitive characteristics of this mortuary practice suggest that the deposition of a funeral kit was a long-standing, well-established, and a wide-spread Canaanite tradition.

Similarly, the ceramic portion of the funeral kit both at Ashkelon and in the wider geographical region of Canaan was composed of five basic typological components: bowls, juglets, pitchers/jugs, store jars, and lamps. These functioned as food-service ware (such as platters, kraters, and store jars), table-ware (such as small bowls and plates), packaging for commodities (such as juglets for oils and unguents), and lamps (which addressed the practical, and perhaps mystical/theological, need for illumination). The homogeneity of the ceramic components found among these assemblages suggests that a particular function was being performed by the set as a whole; specifically, it was a symbolic representation of the deceased’s portion of the funerary banquet and sustenance essential to the well-being of the spirit.⁴²

Preserved in the ceramic vessels of some burials was the remnant of the foodstuffs that made up the funerary meal. At Jericho, for example, the state of preservation in several tombs was such that the flesh was still present on the bones of a few of the animal and human remains at the time of excavation. Tombs G37, B35, G1, H6, H18, and H22 contained “joints of mutton” (Kenyon 1960:266), sheep/goat remains, some of which appeared to have been “roasted” (Kenyon 1960:317). There were also “desiccated pomegranates” (Kenyon 1960:371), grapes, and a number of store jars containing the residue of the liquid they once held. At Kabri, animal bones were associated with several of the MB IIA–IIB burials. Tombs 984, 1045, and 494 also yielded remnants of sheep/goat, most of which were young. In addition to sheep/goat, Tomb 498 contained remnants of cattle and fallow deer (Horwitz 2002:397). At Aphek, nine graves from the MB IIA period contained remnants of sheep/goat, cattle, pig, and dog (Hellwing 2002:308). At Dan, Tombs 187b, 4663, and 8096 held the remains of sheep/goat, cattle, pig, deer, mountain gazelle, and fish (Horwitz 1996:268, 270–271). Finally, at Hazor in Tomb 1181, the majority of the faunal remains were sheep, and in two instances the bones of sheep/goat were found inside bowls (Maeir 1997:298).

A comparison of the burials from the above sampling, reveals that intrasite components of the funeral kit were generally uniform, but that when compared intersite, regional differences are evident in regard to the use of specific vessel types. Nevertheless, regional variations occurred among the ceramic typologies that do not appear to have impacted the purpose and function of the funeral kit throughout Canaan. Further, commonalities were represented by the predominant, supine-flexed or supine-extended burial positions, which were observed at Tell el-Far‘ah (North) in Tomb AN (Mallett 1973:54–63). Kenyon (1960:263–264) remarked that at Jericho the bodies were “... consistently [placed] on the back with the limbs rather untidily disposed” and that in several instances (Tombs B35 and J9) “... it appeared that originally the knees had been raised, and had fallen over when the ligaments decayed.”

A comprehensive examination of the ceremonial elements of Canaanite mortuary practices should necessarily include a discussion of the relationship between the funeral and the *marzēaḥ*. If it is the case that the *marzēaḥ* was in part funerary, and, as some texts appear to indicate, it hosted overindulgent funerary banquets, this suggests a correlation between the increased number of ceramic items in the LB

funeral kit and an increasingly unrestrained *marzēaḥ*. An increase in the number of food-related vessels in the funeral kit may reflect both a larger portion of the meal allotted to the deceased and further evidence of an increasingly opulent funerary banquet. Nor should the evidence be ignored of food-related vessel types found in MB and LB tombs corresponding with those discovered in the *marzēaḥ*-type buildings discussed by Bietak. The evidence suggests that the funeral kit may serve as an artifactual indicator not only of the ritual and ceremonial aspects of the funerary process but also of the funerary association of the *marzēaḥ*. Given the evidence of correlation and vessel types, it would seem that the funeral kit in the wider geographical region of Canaan was not necessarily only an indicator of either socio-economic status or social complexity, but also an archaeological indicator of the funerary rite, rituals and ceremony.

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Chapter 5

The Genesis and Extinction of The Funeral Kit in Canaan



The previous chapters have addressed the connection between the funeral kit and rite, ritual, and ceremony. As discussed, the funeral kit is the artifactual evidence of the invisible activities that comprise them. In considering the beginning, decline, and end of the funeral kit, two more elements must be added to the mix: the afterlife scenario and the ever-increasing importance of the individual. Although the afterlife scenario of the Canaanites has been summarized in chapter two, it is important to point out that the driving force behind the rite and the resulting ritual and ceremony is that which happens to the deceased in the afterlife, which in turn determines the paraphernalia, or essential equipment, that is the funeral kit, which the deceased must have in order to maintain a happy existence in the next world. Accordingly, as afterlife scenarios evolved, so too did the essential grave goods that outfitted the deceased for their new existence, and there was an increasing focus on the individual over and above kinship groups and the collective ancestors. Therefore, the funeral kit serves not only as the artifactual evidence for invisible obsequies, but it also reflects the afterlife scenarios and the individual's place within that scenario. This chapter's focus is on the beginning, decline, and end of the funeral kit with the intent of demonstrating that its decline and disappearance reflects evolving afterlife scenarios and a person's place within them.

In the Beginning

The data discussed thus far would appear to support the notion that the funeral kit and the mortuary activities they represent were part of a well-established, and wide-spread, Canaanite tradition. To further establish this, several questions must be considered: when did this tradition begin, when did it end, and why? In the Levant, people were burying their dead as early as the Epipaleolithic period with the Kebaran (ca. 18,500–12,550 BCE) and the Natufian cultures (ca. 10,850/10,550–8,550 BCE) (Bar-Yosef and Valla 1990; Belfer-Cohen 1995; Belfer-Cohen and Hovers 1992; Byrd and Monahan 1995; Kuijt 1996; Nadel and HersHKovitz 1991; Nadel 1995). The mortuary characteristics of Natufian burials from sites such as Ain Mallaha, Hayonim Cave, Nahal Oren, El Wad Cave, Kebara Cave, and Ohalo, included simple pit graves located either outside of and away from habitation areas or in the midst of them. These graves contained one or multiple individuals with little discrimination between age or sex. Individuals were fixed into either a supine-extended, supine-flexed, or semi-flexed position with little or no uniformity in the orientation of the grave or the individual(s) placement within it. The most common grave item deposited with the Natufian deceased were dentalium; these were beads made of shell, animal bone, or stone that were worn either as a necklace, bracelet(s), a headdress, or a waistband. Some interpret this as evidence of social stratification, others see it as egalitarian, while most consider this type of ornamentation to be random (Bar-Yosef and Valla 1990; Belfer-Cohen 1995; Belfer-Cohen and Hovers 1992; Byrd and Monahan 1995; Kuijt 1996; Nadel 1995; Nadel and HersHKovitz 1991). Recently, research at the site of Kfar HaHoresh in Northern Israel has yielded data that suggests funerary feasting was commonplace (Goring-Morris and Horwitz 2007). Later, in the Chalcolithic period, ritualistic mortuary behavior became more obvious when v-shaped bowls, pedestal bowls, pots, and holemouth jars were left in burial caves alongside stylized clay ossuaries utilized for secondary burial (as in Azor, A. Ben-Tor 1993).

In the Early Bronze Age (EBA) I–III, it appears that the practice of depositing relatively homogenous ceramic sets with burials became a standardized mortuary practice. This period in Canaan was a time of innovation and urban development as evidenced by settlement patterns, strong economy, and international trade relationships (A. Ben-Tor 1992; Greenberg 2003; Prag 1974; Richard 1987). Just as this was a time of

innovation in terms of communication, agriculture, and technology, it was also a period of development in terms of burial practices (A. Ben-Tor 1992). The regularity found among the ceramic assemblages may suggest that burial rite, ritual, and ceremony had achieved an accepted consistent form, which also marked a significant development from the earlier Chalcolithic period.

Most EBA cemeteries were located outside of and away from their associated settlements in natural or hewn caves, shaft tombs, tumulus graves, or dolmens with the most common being cave and shaft tombs (Ben-Tor 1992:88; Ilan 1997, 2002; Richard 1987). The burials found within cave and shaft tombs exhibit reuse over a long period; older burials were frequently pushed aside to make room for new burials, or bones were heaped together within chambers. Although relatively rare, cremation was also sometimes practiced. Interments within such tombs could number as few as one and as many as two hundred. The architectural layout of these shafted chamber tombs ranged in shape from oval to rectangular and included one or multiple rooms as at Jericho, Megiddo, and Lachish. Because of this architectural diversity, scholars have suggested that tomb layout may be indicative of tribal or ethnic identity, which would account for the diversity in grave types (and grave goods) found within a single population group (e.g., Jericho, Kenyon 1960, 1965). However, in the midst of this architectural diversity, there was also uniformity among accompanying grave assemblages (e.g., Jericho, Shay 1983). The ceramic component of these deposits formed patterns that were relatively consistent and predictable. These patterns in turn suggest that well-established funerary rituals and traditions probably began in and continued throughout the EBA.

Several EBA sites have yielded tombs and burials that provide evidence to substantiate this claim. As with the MB and LB, the most appropriate examples of EBA burials in natural or modified caves or hewn tombs will be discussed in order to establish parallels, although this sampling should not be considered exhaustive. Examples can be found at Azor (A. Ben-Tor 1975), Ai (Figure 5.1), Bab edh-Dhra' (Figure 5.1), Dhahr Mirzbaneh (Figure 5.2), Tell el- Far'ah (North) (Figure 5.1), Gibeon (Pritchard 1963), Jericho (Figures 5.1, 5.2), Lachish (Figure 5.2), Tell en-Naşbeh (McCown 1947) and Megiddo (Figure 5.2). These cave tombs (whether natural or hewn) contained one or multiple individuals, some of which appear to show evidence of reuse, with earlier interments being swept aside to make space for newer ones. Interments

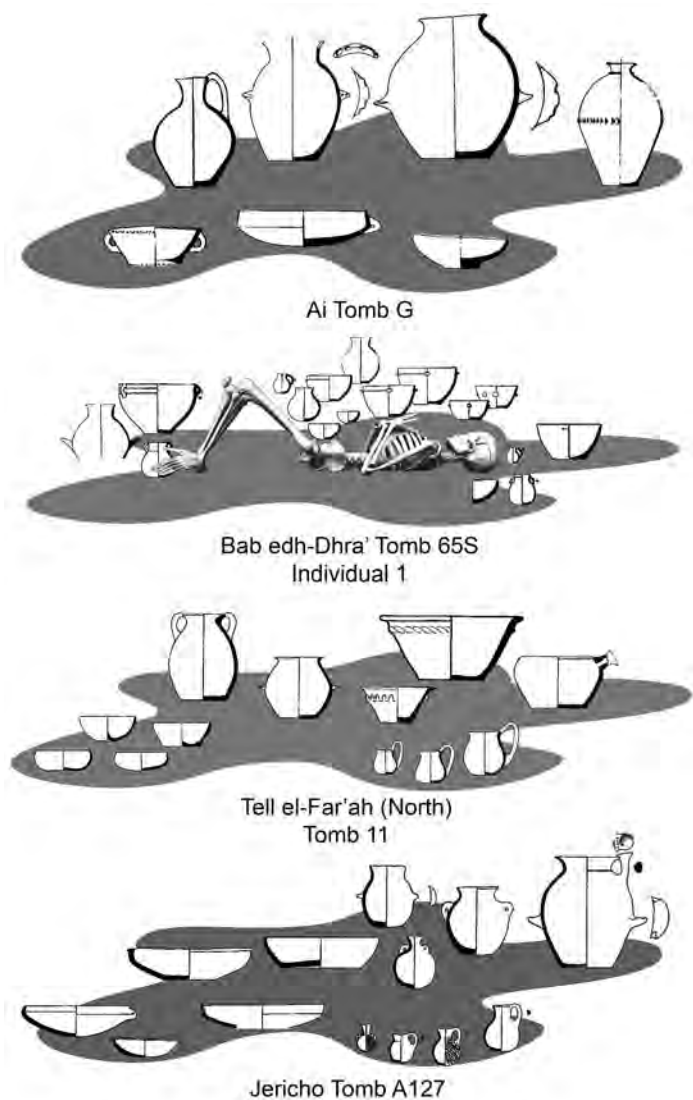
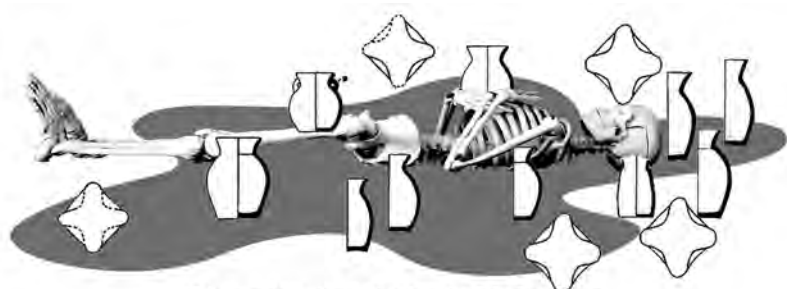


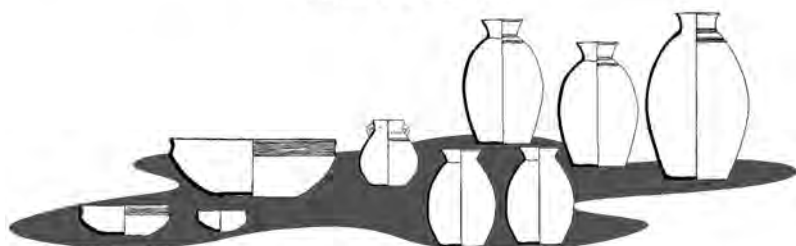
Figure 5.1. EBI–II funeral kit in wider Canaan. The selected examples illustrate the ceramic components that formed the funeral kit deposited with individuals during this period. In the tombs that contained one individual, sometimes the skeletal remains had disintegrated or were badly scattered. Nevertheless, the components of the funeral kit remained. Ai, Tomb G and selected pottery are adapted from Callaway (1964); Bab edh-Dhra', Tomb A 65S, Individual 1, is adapted from Schaub and Rast (1989); Tell el-Far'ah (North), Tomb 11 and selected pottery are adapted from de Vaux (1951b); and Jericho, Tomb A127 with selected pottery are adapted from Kenyon (1960). Not to scale.



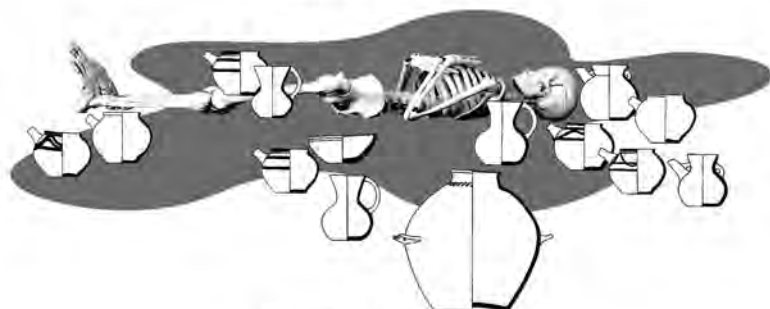
Dhahr Mirzbaneh Tomb B6 Grave 3



Jericho Tomb H20



Lachish Tomb 2015



Megiddo Tomb 877A2

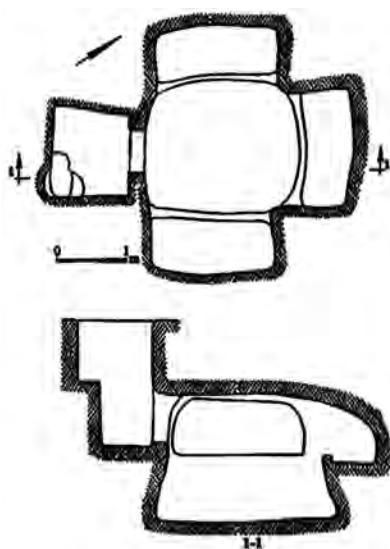
Figure 5.2. EB IV funeral kit in wider Canaan. When possible, the distribution of the ceramic components of the EB IV funeral kit is depicted around the corpse in its presumed position at the time of burial, except for Lachish 2015. Dhahr Mirzbāneh, Tomb B6, Grave 3 is adapted from Lapp (1966); Jericho Tomb H20 is adapted from Kenyon (1960); Lachish Tomb 2015 is adapted from Tufnell (1958); Megiddo Tomb 877, Individual A2, is adapted from Guy (1938). Not to scale.

were placed in either a flexed or supine-extended position. Other tombs exhibit evidence of secondary burial with decarnation taking place outside the tomb and defleshed skeletal remains interred inside the tomb in a highly organized manner as at, for example, Bab edh-Dhra' (Chesson 2003; Schaub and Rast 1979 a, b, 1989).

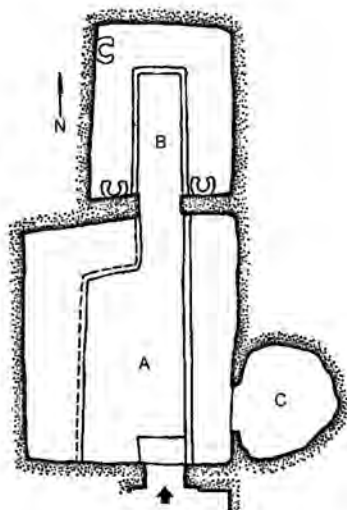
In regard to the grave goods, ceramic assemblages included as few as one or as many as sixteen or more vessels and consisted mainly of bowls, lamps, juglets, jars, and jugs with very little else. Status and personal items appeared in the form of beads (necklaces or bracelets), earrings, rings, daggers, and mace heads. The intrasite ceramic sets found in EBA tomb burials were largely homogenous, offering little evidence of social stratification (Ilan 2002). However, intersite, ceramic, grave assemblages exhibit regional differences relative to the use of regionally specific, vessel types. Of course, the intersite ceramic burial assemblages of the EBA IV reveal a wide variety of regionally specific vessel forms in keeping with the defragmentation thought to have occurred in this period (Dever 1980). Recognizing that there are regional differences between the ceramic assemblages from different sites, intrasite homogeneity and consistency suggest that the people of the EBA engaged in standardized funerary practices. Thus, it is probable that use of a standardized funeral kit began in the EB I reflecting a significant evolution in funerary ceremony, burial habits, and a well-developed concept of the afterlife; that is that the deceased required sustenance.

The Decline

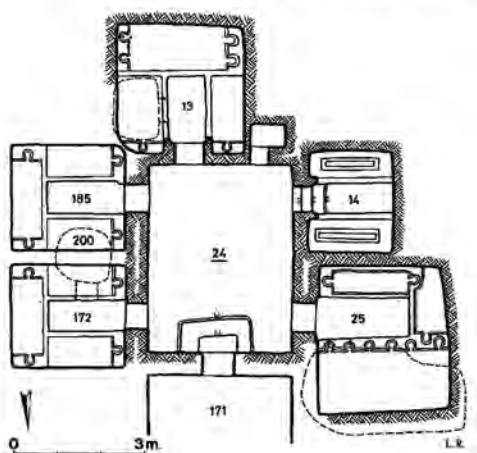
Having established the origins of the funeral kit, it is equally important to ascertain its decline and to identify the reasons for its disuse over time. The beginning of the end may be found in the Iron Age, a point from which burial practices rapidly evolved. The cave-like, rock-hewn, chamber tomb, so prevalent in the Bronze Age, remained in use throughout the Iron Age; however, architectural innovations emerged with the appearance of benches, loculi, and arcosolia tombs (Figure 5.3). Previously, niches and bench tombs were used. Niches were more common in the MB (e.g., Ashkelon, Chamber 5; Tell el-'Ajjul, Tombs 246, 407, 406, and 411; see chapters three and four above). In the Late Bronze Age II (LB II), bench tombs with a long stepped approach, or dromos, and benches around the perimeter of a square or rectangular chamber became popular. Examples of the latter include: Tell elFar'ah



Akhziv Tomb ZR XVI



Burial Cave 2,
Jerusalem, near
Sultan Suleiman Street



Ketef Hinnom Cave 24

Figure 5.3. Iron Age I and II tomb architecture. These examples depict tombs with benches, niches, and benches with head rests. Akhziv Tomb ZIX is adapted from Dayagi-Mendles (2002); Burial Cave 2 from Jerusalem near Sultan Suleiman Street is adapted from Barkay, Kloner, and Mazar (1994); Ketef Hinnom Cave 24 is adapted from Geva (1993) and Barkay (1994). Not to scale.

(South) Tombs 914 and 960 (Starkey and Harding 1932); Sarepta (Baramki 1956, 1958); Lachish, Tombs 502 and 4010 (Gonen 1992; Tufnell 1958); and Gezer Caves 9 and 10A (Gonen 1992; Seger 1972, 1988). In the Late Bronze Age II, loculus tombs also appeared wherein one or multiple square or rectangular loculi could be accessed from a large central square or rectangular chamber. These loculi were usually intended for individual interment (Tell el-‘Ajjul, Petrie 1930; Lachish, Tufnell 1958; and at Tell Dothan, Cooley and Pratico 1994a). Regional differences emerged in the IA I period relative to the architectural plan of rock-cut tombs between the coastal/lowland areas and the central hills and highland areas. Tombs of the coastal/lowland areas remain mostly unchanged, while those of the central hills and highland areas evolved rapidly (Bloch-Smith 1992, 2002). From this point, although a funeral kit was deposited with most Iron Age burials, the presence/absence of a funeral kit and the form and function of tomb architecture clearly reflects the evolution of the ancients’ beliefs in the afterlife, as well as an individual’s place in it.

In general, the architectural plan of IA I–II tombs in the central hills and highland regions consisted of an antechamber and a large main room (usually rectangular) that provided access to benches that stretched around the perimeter of the tomb or to loculi as, for example, with Tombs Z IX and ZR XVI at Akhziv (Dayagi-Mendels 2002) and Burial Caves 1 (not illustrated) and 2 in Jerusalem (Barkay, et al. 1994) (Figure 5.3). The corpse would be placed in a supine-extended position on a bench or in a loculus surrounded by grave goods. Once the flesh decayed, the skeletal remains were collected and often deposited in a communal repository, either in a pit in the floor or an unused room or loculus. Some bench tombs of the IA II period in the central hills and highland regions, especially around Jerusalem, developed *arcosolia*, benches with built-in headrests or pillows. These features were found at Gibeon, Tombs 3, 4, 5, and 8, (Eshel 1987); St. Etienne Monastery Cave Complexes 1 and 2 (Geva 1993; Barkay, Kloner, and Mazar 1994); and Ketef Hinnom Cave 24 (Geva 1993; Barkay 1994). Also trough-like sarcophagi were used as in Room 14 of Burial Cave 24 at Ketef Hinnom (Geva 1993; Barkay 1994) (Figure 5.3). Even though these tombs contained multiple burials, architectural features such as these highlight the ever-increasing emphasis on the individual. Additionally, as the IA II progressed, some tombs located around Jerusalem became elaborate monuments with regard to decoration, size, and complexity

(Bloch-Smith 1992, 2002). Most probably these were the burial places of elite members of society and/or government officials and are not of concern here, because they do not necessarily reflect the mortuary architecture of the general population.

The ceramic funerary assemblage of the IA I, lowland and coastal regions consisted of bowls, chalices, pilgrim flasks, pyxides, jars, jugs, juglets, storage jars, and lamps. Combinations vary according to region; however, the difference between the lowland and highland groups generally occurs in the variation of specific vessel types (Bloch-Smith 1992, 2002). Examples of ceramic grave goods may be found at Atlit (Johns 1933:41–104); Tell Dothan Tomb 1 (Cooley and Pratico 1994a, b); Tell el-Far‘ah (South) 532, 543, and 552; Gibeon; Lachish in Tomb 106; Megiddo; and Tell en-Naṣbeh (Badé 1931; Bloch-Smith 1992:72–81).

During the IA II the ceramic repertoire expanded to include table amphorae, plates, storage jars and dipper-juglets, as well as cooking pots and wine sets. These assemblages are best exemplified by tombs at sites such as Atlit Tomb L16 (Johns 1933:60–62, Figures 4, 16, 19), Tell Dothan, Tomb 1 Level 1 (Cooley and Pratico 1995, Figures. 19–25), Ketef Hinnom (Barkay 1994); St. Etienne Monastery (Barkay 1986; Barkay et al. 1994); Mamilla (Reich 1994); and Tel Ḥalif (Biran and Gophna 1970, Figs. 4–11; Bloch-Smith 1992:72–81, 2002:120–130). As the IA II progressed the ceramic assemblages of the highland and lowland regions become more homogenous and the quantity of vessels increased. Additionally, tombs considered as foreign such as Philistine, Phoenician, or Egyptian, contained larger quantities of foreign pottery (Bloch-Smith 1992, 2002; Waldbaum 1966) typologies that were commensurate to their cultural origins (e.g., Akhziv Tomb 1, Mazar 2004:135–136). In summary, IA mortuary practices represent both continuity and change in terms of the current discussion. Continuity was represented by the uninterrupted deposition of the funeral kit, reflecting continuation of the funerary rite, ceremony, and afterlife scenario. Change was reflected in the new architectural features such as benches, loculi, and arcosolia, which embraced the increasing emphasis on the individual rather than celebrating the unity of the extended family.

The next major shift in burial practice occurred in the Persian, Hellenistic, and early Roman periods (ca. 530 BCE–70 CE), also known as the Second Temple period (ca. 516 BCE–70 CE). During the Persian period (ca. 530–332 BCE), rock-cut tombs were located mainly along the Phoenician coast such as at Akhziv (Dayagi-Mendles 2002;

Prausnitz 1993), Atlit (Johns 1933:114–117), and Tel Michal (Herzog 1993; Wolff 2002). Rock-hewn shaft tombs such as those at Akhziv and Atlit were generally small, square in shape with a stepped entrance, and usually contained one burial per tomb. The body was generally placed in an east-west direction with the head to the east, in a supine-extended position with arms crossed over the chest or pelvis. Essential grave goods were few in number and generally consisted of one or several juglets or a few bronze objects. At Persian period sites along the coast, one or more storage jars were often placed in the tombs' corners. In contrast to earlier periods, personal items outnumbered essential items, and women were often more elaborately adorned than men (Wolff 2002:131–138). For the most part, contemporaneous Phoenician and local inhabitants' tombs and burial practices remained much like those of the IA II, and many IA tombs were reused. The quantity of essential grave goods, however, was considerably reduced.

More substantial and enduring changes occurred in the Hellenistic period (ca. 332 BCE–37 CE) when, architecturally, tombs became large underground complexes consisting of a labyrinth of main chambers, side rooms, and loculi. In the southern coastal plain, the Plain of Sharon, the Jezreel Valley, and Idumaea, the Phoenicians built large underground sepulchers such as the necropolis of Maresha (ca. 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE) that were regarded as pagan tombs (Berlin 2002:139; Kloner 2003:21–30). A typical tomb at Maresha generally consisted of an open forecourt (some large and ornate), an entrance usually with a hinged doorway (ca. 1 m high), which led to a central chamber flanked on three sides by loculi, on average ca. 2–2.5 m x 0.7 m wide (Figures 5.4A–B and 5.5). The interior walls of many Maresha tombs were elaborately decorated with depictions of animals, plants, garlands, vases, and people, which were motifs that were both Greek and Semitic, suggesting the Phoenicians of this colony were assimilating outside traditions. Incised inscriptions above the entrance of some loculi identified the occupant(s). Interestingly, members of this Phoenician colony utilized the loculi for decarnation. Once defleshed, the skeletal remains were collected and removed into a different shared loculus or central repository. The newly vacated loculus was then used for a subsequent burial and his/her name added to the loculus wall. Although grave goods including personal and essential items were deposited with the deceased, essential grave goods were far fewer in number, consisting mainly of small bowls, lamps, kraters, table amphorae, jars,



Figure 5.4A. Tomb Architecture of the Second Temple period from Maresha: (top) detail of the Sidonian Tomb; (bottom) the Sidonian Tomb. Photographs by J. L. Baker.

amphoriskoi, juglets, spindle bottles, jugs, and cooking pots (Berlin 2002; Kloner 1993, 2003; Peters and Thiersch 1905). The genealogical record implied by inscriptions above the loculi suggest these tombs were owned and utilized by one or two families over one or two generations (Peters and Thiersch 1905)⁴³, underscoring the importance of individual burial within the greater familial context.

Late Hellenistic period tombs (late 2nd to 1st century BCE) in the Jerusalem region indicate a further shift in burial practices. In general, loculi tombs and the collection of decarnated bones for secondary deposition into a communal repository continued (Avni, Dahari, and Kloner 2008); however, in the Jerusalem region, decarnated bones were deposited into an ossuary. The ossuary was then placed into a loculus, onto a bench, or stacked as at Acel dama in Burial Cave 3 (Figure 5.5) in the Kidron Valley (Avni, Greenhut, and Ilan 1994), Mt. Scopus (Sussman 1994), and Jericho (Hachlili and Killebrew 1999). It appears that secondary burial in an ossuary was only practiced from about the 2nd



Figure 5.4B. Loculi for interments from less ornate tombs at Maresha. Photographs by J. L. Baker.

century BCE to the mid-1st century CE and initially only among wealthy, prominent, Jewish families. It later became a widespread custom.

Ossuaries of the later Second Temple period (early Roman period) were carved from a single soft limestone (*nari*) block in the form of a box approximately 45–70 cm long by 25–30 cm wide and 25–40 cm high with either a flat, peaked, or curved lid, also made from soft limestone. Exterior walls were often decorated with geometric shapes, zig-zag-lined borders, acanthus leaves, palm fronds, rosettes, palmettes, ivy leaves, or plant motifs, commensurate with artwork from the later Second Temple period. Sometimes the name of the occupant(s) was (were) carved into the box in Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic. Some grave goods, though not many, were associated with the ossuaries. Essential and personal items were occasionally located near them or in a common pit (Berlin 2002; Geva 1993; Hachlili 1992; Kloner and Zissu 2007) and consisted of limited quantities of bowls, lamps, cooking pots, glass vessels, and unguentaria. Each ossuary usually contained one person, although occasionally two or more people were present, such as a mother and child or husband and wife. Such a practice may be confirmed by the Babylonian Talmud, Semahoth 13.8 which states that “whosoever a person may sleep with when he is living, he may be buried with when he is dead,” and 12.8 which describes the way in which bones should be collected and placed into ossuaries. One example of this practice includes Jason’s tomb (Berlin 2002; Hachlili 1992). It is generally accepted that these two practices reveal the family’s view in regard to physical resurrection; those who used ossuaries believed in bodily resurrection while those who did not continued the traditions of their ancestors.

The final blow to the funeral kit came in around the 2nd to 4th centuries CE, the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, which embraced the significance of the individual and bodily integrity. Perhaps the best example of burial practices in the Jewish tradition comes from the Beth She‘arim necropolis, which dates to the 3rd–4th centuries CE (Avigad 1976; Avigad and Mazar 1993; B. Mazar 1957, 1973; Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974). It is often described as a commercialized burial ground for Jews living in what was then known as Palastina (Figure 5.6). The tombs of this extensive necropolis comprised elaborate catacombs that included forecourts, doorways (some with elaborately carved stone doors), and corridors. These features led to a labyrinth of rooms filled with large stone sarcophagi, arcosolia (in the form of trough-like



Figure 5.6. Tombs of Beth She'arim. The grand scale and detail of the tombs and their sarcophagi are illustrated in these photographs. Photographs by J. L. Baker.

niches, some with a “pillow”, that were sealed with a stone slab and clay mortar [B. Mazar 1957:51–52]), and coffins, all for primary interment of one or several persons (B. Mazar 1957). Secondary burial in a central repository or in ossuaries was not always practiced here.

Interior tomb walls were decorated with painted and carved motifs commensurate with Second Temple period, such as lions, floral themes, and menorahs. In addition, multiple Roman funerary motifs were borrowed, including heraldic eagles, hanging wreaths, and columns. Inscriptions on loculi or arcosolia reveal the names of those interred within, as well as the titles of important individuals such as merchants, public officers, artisans, scribes, and rabbis (Avigad and Mazar 1993; Hachlili 1992). As for grave goods, many of these tombs had been looted; nevertheless, some undisturbed burials contained personal items as well as items such as ceramic vessels, glass vessels (lamps, jugs, bowls), metal objects (pins, bracelets, buckles), and/or coins (Mazar 1957). Coins may have been used by the deceased to pay Charon, the Ferryman who provides passage across the river Styx (Vitto 2010:91–92). In Greece, a post-Hellenistic practice was to place an *obol* in the mouth or between the teeth of the deceased as payment for Charon’s ferry ride. Similarly, in lieu of an obol, a bronze coin, gold leaf, or other metal object was left in the tomb with the deceased, which also functioned as Charon’s payment (Garland 2001:23).

Other contemporaneous nonJewish, pagan, and Christian tombs also utilized similar architectural features such as loculi and arcosolia. Tomb decoration included flora and fauna, such as in the Cave of the Birds (Figure 5.7) or Nilotic motifs as in Painted Tomb at Ashkelon (Ory 1938). These decorations may suggest the tombs were pagan; whereas, tombs painted with crosses and essential grave goods such as small bowls, juglets, lamps, and glass vessels indicate the occupants were Christians. For example, at Morasha (near the Third Wall in Jerusalem), a crypt under the monastery contained the remains of several individuals. Interspersed among the skeletal remains were the aforementioned items as well as wooden fragments of a coffin (Amit and Wolff 1994). In another example, a crypt found below a chapel in Area A, across the street (and immediately east) from the aforementioned site, utilized trough-like arcosolia (Figure 5.7) that contained the remains of several individuals as well as one small bowl for sanctified oil (bowls and oil such as these were given to pilgrims as a blessing of the saint and are mentioned

in contemporary literary sources (Tzaferis, Feig, Onn, and Shukron 1994:289–290). At Bet Guvrin in the East Cemetery (II), Cave II.37 and II.38, were tombs with white plastered walls with red-painted, human busts, fish, birds, crosses, and floral designs. In Cave II.38 the south arcosolium was adorned with a red painted cross flanked on each side by palm fronds. On the south wall, there were two more red painted crosses (Avni et al. 2008). Other Christian symbols found in tombs include the Greek symbol chi (X), fish, wreaths, wavy ribbons, chalices, amphorae, and garlands (Avni et al. 2008), as at Rammun (Figure 5.7). Tomb architecture, decoration, and limited essential grave goods in this later tradition illustrate the importance of the sanctity of the individual, bodily integrity, and religious affiliation (Avni et. al. 2008).

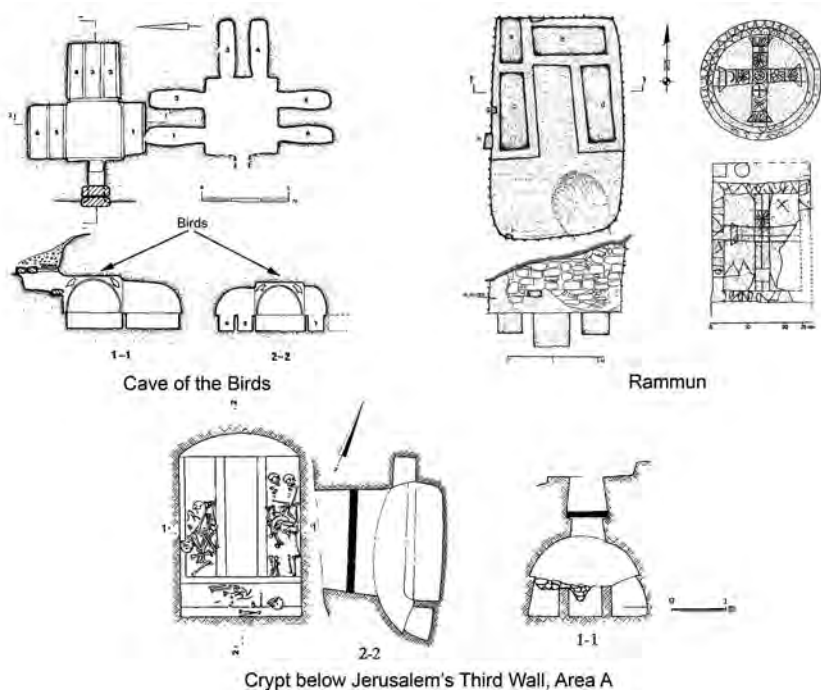


Figure 5.7. Roman and Byzantine period tomb architecture. In addition to depicting the architectural features of tombs from these periods, these examples illustrate nonreligious and religious artwork. Adapted from Cave of the Birds, Kloner (1994); Crypt below Jerusalem's Third Wall, Area A adapted from Tzaferis, Feig, Onn, and Shukron (1994); Rammun adapted from Taha (1998). Not to scale.

The transition during the Iron Age from multiple city-states to a single state and a more centralized form of government resulted in less emphasis on kinship ties over and against a greater emphasis on the nation and the role of the individual within it. Most scholars accept that the shift from communal to individual burial during this period was a consequence of the emergence of statehood and the ever-increasing importance of the individual, together with the transition from lineage-based allegiances to a deeper sense of national identity (Bloch-Smith 1992, 2002; Finkelstein 1999; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; Halpern 1991, 1996). As a result, we observe the large, multigenerational, chamber tombs of the Bronze Age giving way to smaller, more sophisticated and individualized tombs that provided for the nuclear family rather than the larger extended clan.⁴⁴ Similarly, it is widely accepted that the introduction of ossuaries, sarcophagi, coffins, and arcosolia with slabs, reflects the developing concept of an actual physical bodily resurrection, and therefore, the significance of preserving bodily integrity in order to facilitate a corporeal resurrection (Rahmani 1994).

In reality, each of the time periods discussed in the above summary deserves much more focused study but such detail is beyond the scope of this work. Suffice it to say, that in abridgment, the funeral kit of the MB-LB, which represents well-established Canaanite mortuary practices, appears to have begun in the Early Bronze Age. The assemblages that accompanied EB burials occurred as relatively standard sets and were deposited with most burials, even when those burials were secondary. The inclusion of a semistandard funerary set throughout the Bronze Age attests not only to a well-developed mortuary practice but also to a well-developed afterlife scenario. As afterlife scenarios evolved, grave goods once considered essential to the well being of the spirit were no longer utilized and were replaced with new items. The development of afterlife scenarios was closely connected to developing focus on the individual in the Iron Age, which had both political and religious significance. By the Roman and Byzantine periods, the funeral kit of the Bronze and Iron Ages was both obsolete and superfluous. From this broad overview of the birth, life, and extinction of the funeral kit, its *raison d'être* becomes clear: to provide the essential equipment that the deceased required in the afterlife, as dictated by the culturally specific scenario of eternal existence.

Chapter 6

Beyond Canaan: The Funeral Kit in a Wider Geographical and Chronological Context



Thus far, this study has focused on the funeral kit in Canaan, which flourished during the Bronze and Iron Ages, diminished in use during the Persian period (ca. 539–332 BCE) until it finally disappeared in the Roman and early Byzantine periods (ca. 37 BCE to approximately 337 CE). One question still remains: can the Canaanite funeral kit model be applied to burials from other geographical regions and chronological periods? The assumption is that grave goods can be generically sorted into categories of personal, status, and essential, and that the funeral kit represents the essential component. Further, the model assumes that these items were deposited for the well-being of the spirit, which may also have been related to funerary ceremony and ritual, as well as the afterlife scenario. Theoretically, then, the funeral kit model can be applied to burials and associated assemblages in other geographical regions and in various chronological periods.⁴⁵ To test this hypothesis, assemblages from different geographical locations, chronological periods, and cultural groups will be analyzed, including Pre- and Early Dynastic Egypt (ca. 4800–2750 BCE), the Etruscans (ca. 8th to 6th centuries BCE) and early Cyprus (ca. 3700–1100 BCE). In each case, the tripartite division of grave goods previously discussed

will be applied to each group but the primary focus will be on the essential category with the assumption that personal and status items address socioeconomic issues, aspects which have been already discussed at length.

As with the previous sections, a similar methodological approach is adopted in order to understand each group's mortuary practices. These three comparative groups were chosen for their distinctive culture and mortuary traditions. One might argue that comparing three culture-groups from the Mediterranean basin is not a rigorous test of the theory because they are not far enough afield. An earlier version of this chapter did just that, applying the funeral kit theory to Viking and Moche burials. However, while doing the research, it became abundantly clear that it is difficult to jump into the middle of another discipline, even if related, and expect to understand intricate mortuary details without proper background and experience. Those who understand the subtle nuances that exist among such vastly different cultural groups are better qualified to apply the funeral kit theory to their own field of study. In light of this, the early Egyptians, Etruscans, and Cypriots, though somewhat contemporaneous and nearby, offer sociocultural traditions with appropriate dissimilarity to those of the Canaanites to provide adequate extra-Canaanite, comparative data.

Pre- and Early Dynastic Egypt

Like their neighbors, Pre- and Early Dynastic Egyptian burials exhibit mortuary customs and characteristics similar to those already discussed in relation to Canaan. The people of Neolithic and Chalcolithic Egypt steadily evolved from rural bands of hunter-gatherers to organized agricultural communities with the appearance of farming settlements in the sixth millennium BCE. From approximately 5000 BCE, Egyptian civilization developed into two distinct groups, one in Upper Egypt and the other in Lower Egypt, until the more developed, flourishing culture of Upper Egypt overtook that of Lower Egypt (Silverman 1997). By the fourth millennium BCE, the cultures of Upper and Lower Egypt were comparatively homogenous. Over the course of its long development, Egypt culminated in a unified state with a formulated and complex religious system and established homogenous mortuary practices. Numerous sites have yielded hundreds of burials that illustrate not only the homogeneity of mortuary practice in Egypt but also the

gradual development of these practices, which most likely mirror state formation, evolving religious concepts, and afterlife scenarios. Several sites that best exemplify mortuary practices of the Pre- and Early Dynastic periods include Hierakonpolis, Naqada, Ballas, el Mahasna, Badari, Qau, and Naga ed-Dêr.

Pre-Dynastic grave architecture was simple, consisting of a crudely prepared pit in the sandy or limestone, gravel ground. The pit was generally oval or round in shape with the size of the grave commensurate to that of the deceased and approximately 1 to 2 meters deep. The graves' walls were rough, often sloping inward, and rarely at a ninety degree angle to the floor. Based on the remnants of reed matting found with many of the burials, it may be assumed the floor and walls were lined with matting, either in part or entirely. In some cases during the Naqada II period, wooden twigs or small branches were found, suggesting there may have been a roof made either of twigs, matting, or wood planks. There was neither a shaft nor an entrance and once the body and accompanying grave goods were placed into the open pit, it was refilled with soil (Baumgartel 1960; Brunton and Canton-Thompson 1928; Kanawati 2001; Mace 1909).

The posture of the body was, for the most part, uniform: contracted on the left side, with arms bent, hands in front of the chest or face, knees drawn up toward the chest, the head toward the south, and the face turned toward the west. The predictable regularity of this position among burials of the Pre-Dynastic to Dynasty IV may have had ritualistic significance for the early Egyptians (Mace 1909:32). Although there were exceptions to this rule, the overwhelming majority of burials were deposited in this position. It may be that some of the variation was due to limbs that fell or moved during decomposition, causing the slight variations excavators observed millennia later. Due to environmental conditions, the state of preservation at the time of excavation was quite good. The hair and skin of some individuals was still present (Brunton and Canton-Thompson 1928:19).

The contracted body was placed into the matt-lined grave wrapped either in cloth (linen or flax), animal skin (usually goat, sometimes gazelle), or both (Figure 6.1). The cloth wrapping may have adorned the body as a shawl, kilt, or a general wrapping (Brunton and Canton-Thompson 1928:18, 19; Mace 1909:32). Some individuals appear to have had only their heads wrapped in cloth (cf. Badari). Animal hides were worn either as clothing or as a wrapping, which usually reached



Figure 6.1. Rendering of a Pre-Dynastic burial. Re-creation based on written descriptions from Brunton (1927), Brunton and Canton-Thompson (1928), and Mace (1909). The grave's pit would have been lined with matting and the corpse wrapped in linen and a goat skin with the fur on the inside. Grave goods would have been placed around the body and/or inside the wrappings. This image does not represent an actual burial. Photograph by J. L. Baker. Not to scale.

as far as the shoulder. Some males may have worn a pelt around the back and hips as with burial 5737 at Badari (Brunton and Canton-Thompson 1928:19). The use of a cloth and/or skin wrapping appears to have been utilized for most individuals regardless of age or sex. There were, of course, slight variations that deviated from what appears to be the norm, but they do not outnumber the rule.

Most grave goods were placed around the body, although some items such as jewelry, were found inside the wrappings. On occasion, ceramic items were also found next to the body, inside the wrapping. Grave goods consisted of ceramic, stone, and alabaster vessels; beads; flint in the form of blades, arrow heads, tools, and flakes; ivory combs, vases, bangles, finger rings, pins, and wands; shells; hooks; horns and tusks; copper objects; and figurines. While some items were common to most burials, others were not, but ceramic vessels were the most common among all. Most individuals were interred with at least one ceramic item, although a small number appear to have been buried without any at all. In general, individuals were buried with as few as one and as many as eleven items (e.g., burials H34, H40 and H58 at El Mahasna, Mace 1911:14, 17). These included forms such as bowls, cups, jars, and vases of varying size (Figure 6.2).

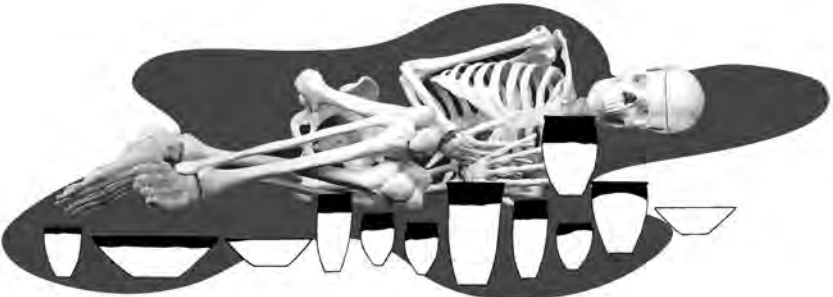
The most common ware types included vessels with brown-polished bodies and black-topped rims and upper bodies; red-polished bodies with black topped rims and upper bodies; all black- or red-polished, and coarse wares (Brunton and Canton-Thompson 1928; Ayrton 1911;



El Mahansa Grave H34



El Mahansa Grave H40



El Mahansa Grave 58

Figure 6.2. Pre-Dynastic Egyptian burials from el-Mahansa. The ceramic vessels that comprised Pre-Dynastic Egyptian burials are depicted around the presumed position of the corpse at the time of burial (without burial garments). El-Mahansa Graves H34, H40, and 58 are adapted from Ayrton (1911).

Wodzińska 2009). These vessels probably held food items and may also have provided rations for the next world, since in several cases grain was discovered inside of jars (e.g., El Mahansa, grave H86, [Ayrton 1911:18]). Additionally, the evidence suggests that the funerary meal was prepared and may have been consumed at the graveside (Brunton and Canton-Thompson 1928). Placement of the ceramic items appears to have been near the head and upper torso and occasionally near the feet.

While many scholars maintain that little class stratification can be observed in Pre-Dynastic burials (Banes and Malek 1980), in her analysis of the Pre-Dynastic burials of Badari, Anderson (1992) suggests that associated grave goods can be used to demonstrate social ranking (i.e., economic stratification). In short, based on the statistical analyses of grave objects, such as ivories, palettes, beads, luxury items, and pottery, as well as the size of the grave and energy expenditure, Anderson observed that there was an unequal distribution of these items. She further argued that some graves were larger and better prepared than others and that there were items that both men and women received. Thus, she concluded that the interments were probably not those of an egalitarian society because some individuals appear to have boasted items of status. This being the case, it should be noted that the majority of objects upon which this conclusion is based, consist of personal and status items and do not include those that appear to be repetitive or essential among the Badarian burials. It is evident from their that while examining these burials, the excavators were struck by their regularity and uniformity of grave architecture, orientation and position of the burial, the garments or wrappings, and the ceramic typology and quantity. Since the distinction in the grave assemblage between personal and status items has been well documented, the remaining items occur with such regularity that it is demonstrative of well established funerary rite and ritual, even at this early stage.

Jumping ahead, late Pre-Dynastic burials experienced an evolution that was evident in the architecture and the burial itself. The basic pit grave of the earlier burials soon became a much more sophisticated unit. The earlier crudely carved sloping walls became straighter, and there was an attempt to achieve a rectangular shape with walls at right angles to the floor and to each other. The walls were either plastered with mud, lined with reed matting and sticks or wooden panels, or they had a combination of these. Alternatively, a wooden or clay coffin

was constructed to shroud the body. However, at this stage there was no proper roofing or flooring. As the numbers of items deposited with the deceased increased, grave goods were placed around the body, both inside and outside the coffin, and during the latter part of this period, the chamber developed niches to accommodate them.

As Egypt developed socially, politically, and religiously, so too did mortuary practices; tomb architecture became more sophisticated, and grave goods became more diverse and numerous during Dynasties I–III (Kanawati 2001). Now, grave architecture consisted of rectangular pits, cut into bedrock or into the sandy gravel, lined with mudbrick or field stone, which provided support for both the sandy walls and roof (Figure 6.3). The burial chamber could consist of a single chamber the size of the corpse and associated grave goods or one large chamber divided by low mud brick walls or multiple chambers. Access to the tomb chamber ranged from a shafted entrance from above or from the side. Tombs with side entrances were usually accessed via long inclined shafts, some with steps, carved into the bedrock, allowing access from either the long or short side of the chamber. The roof consisted of either field stones, a stone slab(s), or was corbelled (e.g., Naga ed-Dêr, Mace 1909:6–9).

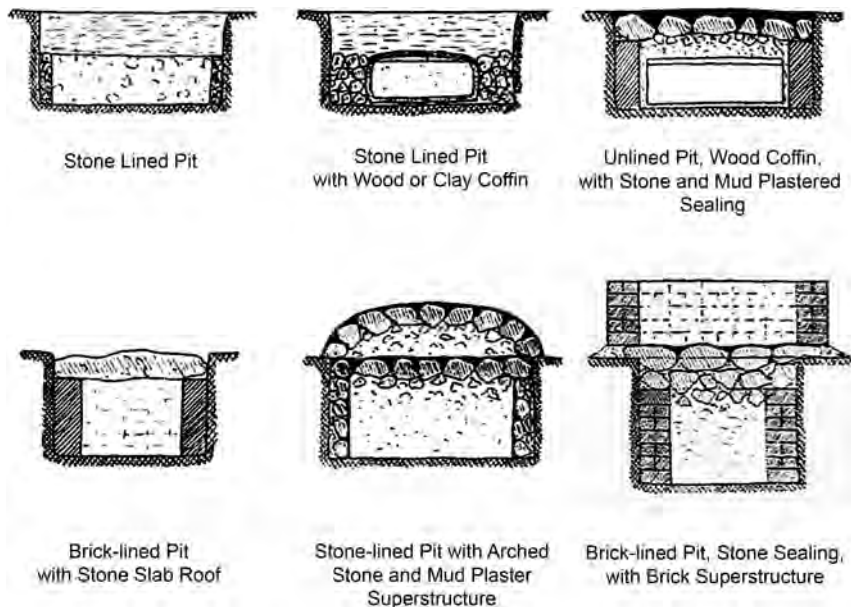


Figure 6.3. Early Dynastic Egyptian tomb architecture. Adapted from Naga ed-Dêr from Mace (1909).

Above the roof, a mud brick superstructure came into use that functioned as an enclosure wall around the burial pit. The enclosure wall was filled with sand and gravel, but people gradually shifted to using a solid mud brick structure. The superstructure was aligned either exactly over the burial chamber with one wall aligned with the burial pit, or completely askew from it. The mud brick, enclosure walls often contained one or two exterior, offering niches on the western wall with a mud brick platform extending in front of it. Based on materials associated with these niches, it is likely they were utilized for offerings (Mace 1909). From this point forward, tombs consisted of both sub and superstructures, with the body and grave goods deposited in the substructure. The attitude of the body continued to be in a contracted position, with the head to the south and face to the west, with grave goods distributed around the body. Additionally, some individuals were placed into coffins made of wood, ceramic, or unbaked clay and situated in the pit. Remnants of textile and animal skins indicate the body was probably covered with a shawl. This burial position regularly occurred "... in all parts of the country, on both sides of the river" leading Mace to conclude it must have held ritualistic significance for the early Egyptians (Mace 1909:32). Grave goods continued to include items such as ceramics, jewelry, flint blades, palettes, copper objects, stone vessels, and seals. Ceramic vessels included forms such as bowls, plates, vases, spouted vessels, jugs, and jars.

Examples of Dynasty I–II burials can be found at sites such as Qau and Badari (Brunton 1927) and Naga ed-Dêr (Figure 6.4; Mace 1909; Reisner 1908). The pottery of this period included "well known types" (Brunton 1927:15) such as rough ware, red-polished ware, brown-polished ware, and red-painted ware. Stone items were alabaster, slate, volcanic ash, marble, or limestone and appear in the form of bowls, plates, spouted vessels, jars, vases, and cylindrical vessels (Reisner 1908; Brunton 1927). Although the number of vessels in a given burial may vary, it is clear that the intended function of the vessels was for eating a meal and storage of foodstuffs. The occurrence of ceramics in varying numbers and increased quantities has led scholars to speculate that quantity is commensurate to the individual's wealth and/or status. It may equally be that the increased number of ceramic items reflected rapidly developing funerary ceremonies and afterlife scenarios (Figure 6.4).

With Dynasty IV (ca. 2680–2544 BCE), mortuary practices changed yet again. Most tombs were much deeper than in the previous periods

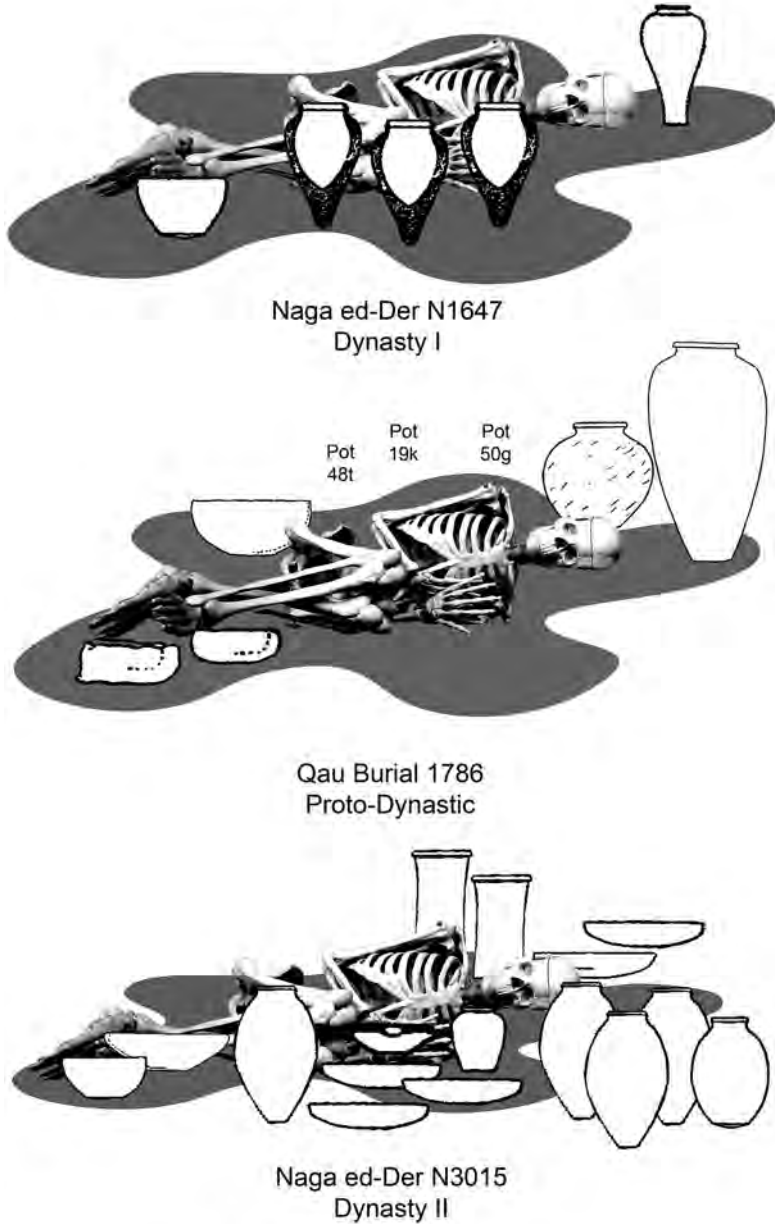


Figure 6.4. Egyptian Dynasty I–II burials. The ceramic vessels that comprised Dynasty I–II burials are depicted around the presumed position of the corpse at the time of burial (without burial garments). Nagada ed-Dêr, Tomb N1647 is adapted from Reisner (1908); Qau, Burial 1786, (roughly Dynasty I) is adapted from Brunton et al. (1927); Naga ed-Dêr, Tomb N3015, is adapted from Reisner (1908). Not to scale.

and carved only into bedrock rather into the unstable sand. The attitude of the deceased also changed; now the deceased was placed in a contracted position on the right side, with the head oriented toward the north and the face toward the east. Gradually, the entire attitude of the body changed to a supine-extended position, which became the dominant pose. Wooden coffins were utilized with increasing frequency, and the exterior was painted with hieroglyphs and funerary texts. The substructure now consisted of multiple rooms, one or more for offerings and one chamber for the burial itself. Personal, status, and essential grave goods consisted of ceramic and stone vessels, jewelry, cosmetic palettes, seals, tools, and ivories. The 4th Dynasty by no means marks the end of evolving mortuary practices; however, it does mark the beginning of new developments regarding ritual, ceremony, and after-life scenarios, which begin to resemble those that are best known from later periods.

In summary, tombs of the Naqada I period consisted of a shallow pit that was roughly oval, round, or rectangular in shape. Deceased individuals were deposited in the pit in a fetal position on either the left or right side, with ceramics and other items, such as jewelry, stone tools, and slate palettes distributed around the cranium and/or feet. They appear to be simple but uniform deposits, suggesting small-scale, village life wherein there was little class stratification and little or no contact with foreign entities (Banes and Malek 1980). Scholars maintain that evidence for class distinction in the later Naqada II periods may be reflected in tomb architecture and grave goods, since some graves were larger and better equipped than others (e.g., Ciałowicz 2001:63–64). It has been argued that innovations in the Naqada IIc period included an increase in the display of status in mortuary contexts and in the development of elite burial grounds at such sites as Nagada (Cemetery T), Hierakonpolis (Locus Hk 43, Tomb 100), Umm el-Ga'ab, and Abydos (Cemetery U) (Levy and van den Brink 2002:10).

To reiterate, while mortuary variability may reflect social stratification and persona, mortuary uniformity may reflect ceremony, ritual, and afterlife scenario. This being the case, the homogeneity of the ceramics deposited with Naqada burials, already noted by Egyptologists (Adams and Hoffman 1987; Hassan 2001), may reflect standardized funerary practices and an afterlife scenario. Adams and Hoffmann note that at Hierakonpolis, for example, neither gender nor age was a determining factor for grave size, quantity of objects, or types of grave goods

deposited (Adams and Hoffman 1987), and if “preferential” treatment was given at all, it was given to females (Adams and Hoffman 1987:182). Thus, these burials indicate that funerary rites were administered to all people irrespective of sex, age, or social rank. Additionally, as with the ceramic assemblages from Canaanite tombs, the essential items in the ceramic repertoire from Naqada period burials in Egypt can be distinguished from status and personal items, allowing patterns to be identified. Thus, rather than interpreting the increase in funerary goods in Naqada period burials, for example, as an “ever-increasing display of status” (Levy and van den Brink 2002:10), perhaps it should better be viewed, at least in part, as an element in the ever-developing complexity of funerary rituals and beliefs. From the Naqada III and the Early Dynastic periods onward, ancient Egypt experienced rapid political, religious, and social growth and evolution. It is not surprising then, that these developments would include new concepts regarding the dead and the afterworld, which would logically be reflected in mortuary practices.

Etruscans

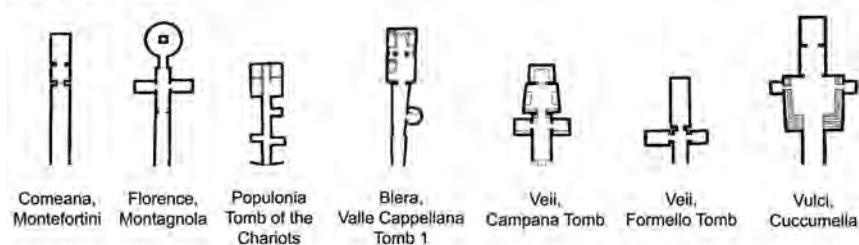
Across the Mediterranean, Etruria was located roughly between the Tiber and Arno Rivers in the western region of central Italy. Etruscan society may have begun as early as 5000 BCE, but it was during the 8th to the 6th centuries BCE that the Etruscans flourished before they were assimilated by Rome’s all-encompassing power (Barker and Rasmussen 2006). Although there is much debate on this subject, it is likely that the Etruscans were an indigenous people. Their afterlife scenario is vivid but not well understood by either ancient or modern scholars. It would appear that after death, the Etruscan soul continued to exist, irrespective of whether the corpse was laid to rest intact or cremated; the spirit lived on in human form as it journeyed into the afterworld (Bonfante 1986).

Much of the Etruscans’ artistic depiction of the afterlife seems to be filled with frightening characters including bird-like beasts, death, demons, and Charu, who wields a double-headed hammer as he guides souls on their journey into the afterlife. Much of what is known about the Etruscan afterlife has been gleaned from tomb paintings, which include scenes depicting afterworld antics; however, most of these appear in later Etruscan tombs, so it is not known exactly when these

scenarios began, if modern interpretations of them are accurate, or to what extent the Etruscans were influenced by Greek afterlife mythology (Barker and Rasmussen 2000; Jannot 2000; Poulsen 1922). Whatever the intricate details of this afterlife may have been, it is generally agreed that the deceased was required to undertake a perilous journey with Charu as guide before attaining the idyllic afterlife. Other clues left within Etruscan tombs attest not only to this journey, but also to the funerary ceremony held in honor of the deceased.

As the Etruscans developed into a sophisticated people, this refinement was reflected in their tomb architecture. Early interments consisted of a simple pit grave containing either an urn with the cremated remains or a corpse. In the 7th century BCE, there is a discernable shift to burying the dead in communal chamber tombs rather than individually. This was not a sudden shift, but instead it evolved over time as pit graves gradually became larger in order to accommodate more people. Finally rock-cut, tomb chambers arranged in large necropolises on the outskirts of towns became the norm (Figure 6.5).

Early Etruscan



Archaic

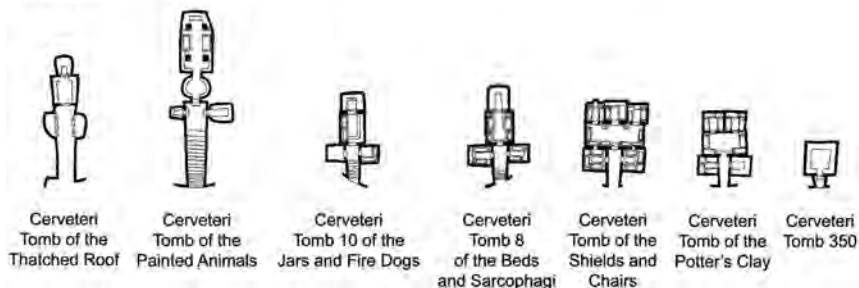


Figure 6.5. Early and Archaic Etruscan tomb architecture. Adapted from Prayon (1986). Not to scale.

The evolution of tomb architecture can be seen at Archaic sites such as Cerveteri where simple rock-cut tombs, consisting of a long dromos and a rounded, square or rectangular chamber, quickly developed to include multiple chambers with benches and arcosolia.⁴⁶ Early rock-cut tombs were subterranean structures topped by round earth-filled superstructures. Later superstructures were rectangular. These tombs were located along necropolis roads, whose placement appears to be part of some greater organization (Barker and Rasmussen 2000; Prayon 1986). Interior decorative elements included carved pillars, roofing timbers, slanted ceilings imitating house roofs, doors, windows, beds, benches; all intended to imitate the home of the deceased. As domestic architecture developed, so too did the tomb's interior architecture, which closely mirrored the architectural layout and decorative elements of domestic dwellings (Barker and Rasmussen 2000). Gradually, by about the 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE, it became less important to replicate the deceased's house inside the tomb, and greater emphasis was given to the tombs' exterior which boasted lavish pillars, cornices, and gables decorated with figures (Prayon 2000). These were organized into necropolises cut into outcropping rock faces which a passerby could not ignore while journeying into, out of, or nearby the town.

The importance of banqueting remained a central theme in Etruscan society both in daily life and in the funerary process. Banqueting scenes were depicted in artwork as early as the 7th century BCE (Barker and Rasmussen 2000; Hostetter 1998; Pieraccini 2000). Such scenes have been found on pottery, mirrors, cinerary urns, and painted tomb walls. Banqueting iconography included individuals, reclining on a couch or *kline*, who are being attended by servants, with depictions of food, service ware, and tableware on a table in front of the couch. In funerary banqueting scenes, the deceased is shown as joining or about to join the banquet held in his/her honor. Whether the banquet was held within the tomb remains a matter for debate. Some tombs seem too small for such activities, while other tombs appear to be outfitted with seats and tables suggesting the family may have held the banquet inside the tomb (cf. Tomb of the Five Chairs, Cerveteri, 7th century BCE [Holloway 1965; Bonfante 1986; Pieraccini 2000]). Wherever the location of the banquet, it is clear that a banquet in honor of the deceased was held, which is attested to by artifactual remains found inside the tomb.

These items included wicker and wood furniture such as tables and beds; bronze and terracotta objects; bronze furniture; toilette

objects such as vases for oils, perfumes, and cosmetics; jewelry such as necklaces, earrings, fibulae, and diadems; kitchen utensils; and banqueting sets (Hostetter 1998). Accordingly, these correspond with the three categories of grave goods: personal, status, and essential, previously discussed. The overwhelming homogeneity of the banqueting items may attest to the ceremonial and ritualistic nature of the funerary banquet in Etruscan tombs.

Banqueting items included service vessels such as cauldrons and stands, mixing bowls, large vases, kraters, storage jars; tableware such as trays, bowls, plates, cups, knives; and other items such as candle and lamp stands, kline, brazier, and carts (Barker and Rasmussen 2000; Bonfante 1986; Pieraccini 2000; de Puma 2008). This equipment could be made of metal such as bronze, silver, gold, or terracotta. Banqueting items most commonly appear in the tomb in the form of bronzes, which were buried with the deceased. At Valle Trebba, for example, individuals were oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the northwest, and the bronze banqueting sets were more commonly placed to the individual's right side with the majority of items near the head and upper torso. It also appears that banqueting sets were deposited with both male and female, without discrimination (Hostetter 1998:73–74). Some of the food items of the banquet have been depicted in tomb paintings and as artifacts, which include wine, eggs, and cuts of meat. The egg has been interpreted to symbolize life, eternal life, and of course rebirth in the next world (Pieraccini 2000:44).

Another item that can be assigned to the essential or ritual category is the mirror. It appears that from the 4th to the 2nd century BCE, mirrors were deposited with regularity in Etruscan tombs with both male and female corpses. These hand-held mirrors were made of either silver or gold and the reverse could be engraved with either banqueting scenes, a nude winged *lasa*, the *tinas* Clinia, or Uni nursing Heracle. Mirrors that have been found physically on a corpse were generally located in the leg area; however, in many cases mirrors were also next to the corpse. Additionally, the mirrors were generally found with their obverse, or reflective side, facing up and the decorated reverse facing down. The presence of mirrors in Etruscan tombs may be interpreted as deflecting harm or evil from the deceased, receptacles for the soul, or preserving the individual's soul for eternity. Their meaning in the mortuary context remains open for discussion (Carpino 2008; Vanoni 1977).

It is generally accepted that banqueting was an essential component in the funerary ceremony and ritual. Banqueting sets deposited with the deceased not only attest to the importance of the funerary banquet, but also suggest that the dead required sustenance for their onward journey. Mirrors may also be considered essential to the grave repertoire, although the exact meaning of their symbolism has yet to be fully understood. The fact that these items, banqueting sets and mirrors, were deposited with most deceased individuals without discrimination suggests they were not meant to identify a person's wealth or status within the community, but rather to perform a ritualistic and practical function for the deceased. Other items, such as jewelry, toiletries, and weapons, which were deposited with the corpse, attest to an individual's wealth and status within the community. The deposit of these items continued through the second 2nd century BCE; however, with the rise of Roman power and influence, Etruscan mortuary practices changed, reflecting evolving beliefs in the needs of the deceased and afterlife scenarios. Beginning with the 4th century BCE, Etruscan tombs became massive monumental family tombs (Barker and Rasmussen 2000) and Etruscan mortuary practices resembled those of the Romans.

Cyprus

In recent years, archaeological observation and analysis of settlement patterns, material culture, flora and fauna, ceramic topologies, and chronology have yielded new data regarding the development of Cyprus, including burial practices. Studies have shown that Cyprus progressed from an uninhabited island, to multiple, sparsely populated farming communities, to an advanced society with a continuously increasing population. As the populace grew and their distinct culture matured, burial practices also evolved, which reflected developing beliefs both as a result of internal evolution and external contact. The development of mortuary practices in Cyprus provides a useful parallel to the Canaanite funeral kit.

It would seem that Cyprus was, for the most part, uninhabited by an aboriginal people. Those who eventually did colonize the island migrated from other parts of the Mediterranean Basin, bringing their cultural traditions with them. Although recent scholarship tends toward a more eclectic approach to the settlement of Cyprus, who the original settlers were and where they came from remains a matter of debate (Peltenburg 1989; Steel 2004a).

One of the earliest settlement periods, the aceramic Neolithic (ca. 8200–5500 BCE), includes characteristics such as a lithic blade industry, round domestic architecture, and subsistence strategy that quickly became a formalized farming economy. Similarities that were shared with the northern Levant's Pre-pottery Neolithic B (ca. 7500–6000 BCE). During this period, formalized burial customs occurred for the first time. For the most part, burials were individual and in pit graves below the floors of houses. Graves could also be located outside the house, between neighboring buildings, or in rubbish pits. Individuals were generally placed in a flexed position on the right side. The age of an individual often determined the degree of contraction. Most females were oriented in a northeast-southwest direction; yet, there was great flexibility in orientation. Male burials, on the other hand, were nearly always positioned with their head to the northeast. Male burials and some female burials were covered with worked and rough stones. Worked stones were usually placed over the head while unworked stones were usually placed over the pelvis or legs (Steel 2004a:52–53). Grave goods were few and rarely included food remains. Those that were deposited included dentalium shell and carnelian beaded necklaces, bone and/or flint tools, stone vessels, and engraved conical stones. In some cases, the stone bowls/basins appear to have been broken, perhaps ritually. The sites that best exemplify aceramic Neolithic burial practices include Khirokitia and Kalavassos-Tenta, both located on the south-central coast of Cyprus.

The next stage of major funerary development is evident in the Middle Chalcolithic period (ca. 3500–2800 BCE). Grave architecture consisted of two types: oval, shallow pits often covered with a stone and shaft graves. The shallow pit graves were generally found within the confines of the settlement while the shaft graves were located outside the settlement and contained more than one interment. The architectural features of some of the shaft graves could be quite elaborate. It is clear that mortuary ritual was more complex and organized, with evidence of primary and secondary deposits. In general there was a division between the burial place of adults and children. Children were buried within the settlement in pit graves, and adults were buried in cemeteries outside the settlement. The burials of children were lavishly adorned with grave goods consisting of dentalium necklaces with picrolite pendants and figurines (Steel 2004a). The corpse was still fashioned in a flexed position on its right side. Earlier burials were removed to make room for new deposits (Steel 2004a). Grave goods were greater in quantity and

included bottles, bowls, zoomorphic vessels, figurines, dentalium necklaces with pendants and other personal items (Steel 2004a). The sites that best exemplify burial practices from this period include Lemba Lakkous (Peltenburg 1985), Kissonegra-Mosphilia (Peltenburg 1998), and Souskiou-Vathyrkakas (Christou 1989).

At Lemba Lakkous, grave architecture in Areas I and II typically consisted of two types: a simple pit or a shallow roughly circular pit within a pit—that is, a smaller burial pit below a wider pit. A covering stone sealed over half of the graves. Most graves contained one burial, though several housed two or three individuals. The orientation of the corpse was dependent upon that of the grave and was typically with the head to the south, south-southwest, or north-northwest. Most individuals were fixed into the pit in a flexed position on the right side. Grave goods were few, consisting of calcarenite querns, cruciform picrolite pendants, and necklaces of dentalium. These appear to have been placed with adults as well as children (Niklasson 1985).

At Kissonegra-Mosphilia, Graves 503, 554, and 571 (Figure 6.6) and 535, 560, and 563 are examples of middle Chalcolithic burials

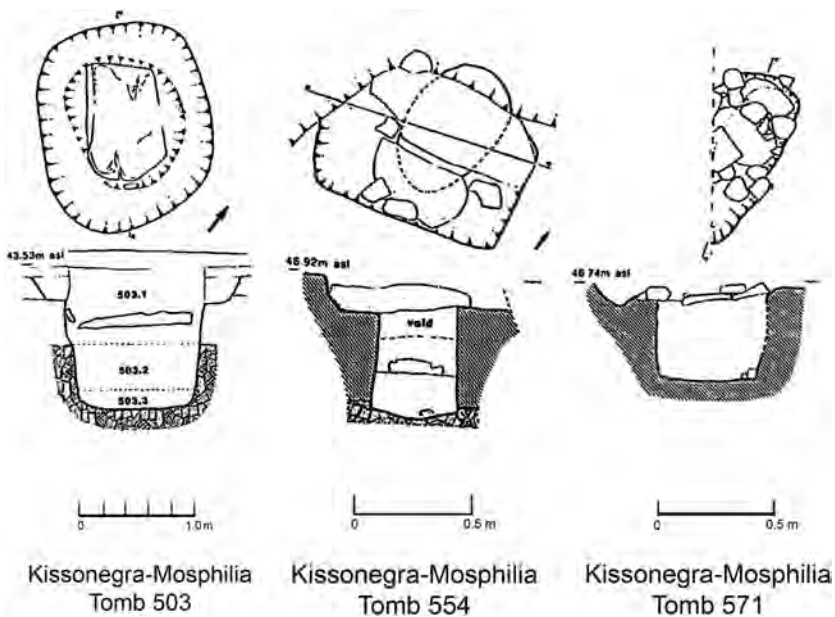


Figure 6.6. Middle Chalcolithic Cypriot grave architecture. Adapted from Kissonegra-Mosphilia, Tombs 503, 554, and 571 adapted from Peltenburg (1998). Not to scale.

(Lunt, et al. 1998). In general these were oval pits. Orientation of the burial varied widely, but excavators noted that numerous of them were situated in an east-west direction with their heads to either direction.

Most were single inhumations; however, some graves held more than one individual, such as Grave 539 which held two males who were both approximately 20–25 years old. Grave 563 contained four individuals, all of whom were children (Lunt, et al. 1998). Grave goods consisted of picrolite pendants, figurines, dentalium beads, diabase hammers and adzes, a boar tusk, and an obsidian fragment (Lunt et al. 1998; Peltenburg 1991, 1998). During the Middle Chalcolithic period, children received grave goods that were equal in quantity and value to those of adults.

Burial practices in Late Chalcolithic Cyprus (ca. 2800–2300 BCE) changed substantially. In addition to pit graves, mortuary architecture now consisted of a rock-cut shaft and doorway that led to either one or two chambers, such as Tombs 505, 506 and 507 at Kissonegra-Mosphilia (Figure 6.7). The new tomb type could accommodate one or several interments, and the quantity and typology of grave goods

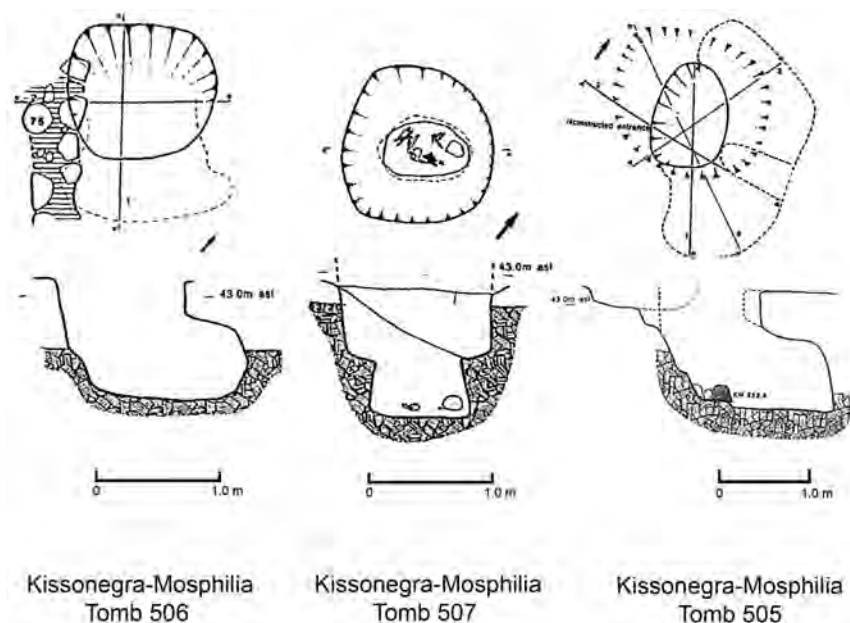


Figure 6.7. Late Chalcolithic Cypriot tomb architecture. Kissonegra-Mosphilia, Tombs 505, 506, and 507, adapted from Peltenburg (1998). Not to scale.

increased. From this point forward, the rock-cut, shaft and chamber tomb with multiple interments and increased quantities of grave goods became the norm for Cypriot mortuary practices. Pit graves were generally reserved for children; although youth were also sometimes deposited in the new-style, chamber tombs. There was, however, a change in attitude toward children as they received fewer lavish grave goods in this period than in the previous one.

The best example of this transition to the new burial practice or type comes from Kissonegra-Mosphila (Lunt et. al. 1998; Peltenburg 1985;1991; 1998; Steel 2004a). Grave 505 is a double chamber, or bilobate tomb, with a shaft and a triangular ledge at the bottom of it. This tomb contained four individuals, two adults (one female and one of unknown sex), one adolescent male, and one child female. The adult of unknown sex was in Chamber 2 and the adult female, adolescent male, and female child (disturbed) were together in Chamber 1. Three items were in situ: in Chamber 1 a Red and Black Stroke-burnished, spouted flask was at the head of the adolescent male; a Red and Black Stroke-burnished, spouted flask was at the feet of the adult female; and on the entrance ledge a Red and Black Stroke-burnished, bowl was inverted. The other grave goods consisted of a pottery disc, cupped stone, a basalt chisel, a grinding block, a chalk bowl, a sandstone lid, and a dentalium bead. The three intact individuals were in a flexed position on either the left or right side. Orientation was dictated by the shape and orientation of the chamber. Another, Grave 539, was a shaft tomb with one chamber. It held two adult male burials who were deposited one on top of the other. Each was placed in a flexed position on their right sides. They were oriented in an east-west direction, with their heads toward the west and their faces toward the south. Grave goods consisted of a ceramic disc and a bone needle (Lunt et al. 1998; Peltenburg 1991, 1998). Another, Grave 545, was also a shaft tomb with a single chamber that contained two adult females. These were oriented northwest-southeast and northeast-southwest. Both were in a flexed position on the right side. Grave goods consisted of a conical stone and a bone needle (Lunt et al. 1998; Peltenburg 1998). The increasing quantity and variety of grave goods from the burials of Kissonegra-Mosphila make it clear that with the late Chalcolithic period, Cypriot mortuary practices were clearly changing.

The abrupt change in burial practice has been attributed to evolving ideologies that may have been influenced by peoples from Anatolia and/

or Syria (Peltenburg 1985, 1991; Steel 2004a). Additionally, with the appearance of multiple-burial tombs and enclosed cemetery zones, it is likely that these represent an attempt to demarcate lineal descent groups or social groups (Goldstein 2009; Peltenburg 1991:30; Steel 2004a:116). Others suggest that these changes were brought to Cyprus by the appearance of migrants from Anatolia who brought their burial practices and mortuary traditions with them (Lunt et al. 1998).

The changes in mortuary practice and architecture that began in the late Chalcolithic period advanced substantially and quickly in the Early and Middle Cypriot periods (EC and MC respectively). The cause of these changes remains a subject of debate. Many scholars suggest that continuing developments were due to trade and the migration of peoples from Anatolia (Keswani 2004). The tomb architecture introduced in the previous period continued but with elaboration throughout the EC and MC periods; especially in the MC I–III periods. The rock-cut, chamber tombs of the MC I–III periods consisted of a dromos, stomion, and one or more chambers whose doorways were sealed by stone slabs. The burial chambers were irregularly shaped, usually round or oval, and their size varied. These were located in cemeteries that were generally located outside settlement walls (Keswani 2004), possibly functioning as kinship-based, burial plots (Steel 2004a). It is also suggested that the new tomb type, together with more elaborate grave goods, were indicative of an emerging elite element in society. (Goring 1989; Steel 2004a). In the MC period, the dromos were a relatively narrow shaft with vertical walls or a wider shaft with sloping, sometimes stepped, floor that led to the stomion, or passageway. Some dromoi boasted “cupboards” (Åström 1972:7–8). A stone slab generally sealed the passageway between the dromos and the chamber(s). From the dromos, one or several chambers could be accessed. The chambers were irregularly shaped and could be rounded, kidney-shaped, or roughly rectangular. Some were equipped with wall niches or ledges (Åström 1972).

With this new tomb technology, the rock-cut chambers could hold many more interments than simple pit graves ever could, and reentering the tomb was much easier. This meant that chamber tombs could be reused for multiple interments; old interments were moved aside to make room for newer ones. Additionally, the grave goods that accompanied burials grew in quantity and in variation of type. Although the assemblages became more elaborate, the composition of them was

relatively homogenous, especially in regard to the ceramic vessels (Steel 2004a). Grave goods included daily objects such as jewelry, figurines, spindle whorls, decorated pottery, metal knives, toiletries, combs and ceramic vessels. Some of these were models, ceramic replicas of metal artifacts. The most prolific of the grave goods were the ceramic and metal vessels, which functioned as receptacles for storage, such as basins; vessels for serving and eating a meal; pouring and drinking liquids; large bowls for serving food; and smaller bowls and cups for eating the meal and for drinking. The remnants of cattle and caprid bones support the notion that these vessels contained food. This was the first time culinary utensils such as these were present in Cyprus' mortuary record (Steel 2004a).

Several scholars have suggested that although EC and MC settlement remains appear to reflect a relatively egalitarian society, the artifactual evidence from the mortuary sphere suggests that the tomb was an acceptable space wherein the privileged class could display its wealth and position within the community (Steel 2004a). As socioeconomic divisions took place among the inhabitants of Cypriot settlements, the changes were correspondingly reflected in the tomb, specifically the shift from household to kinship based society (Steel 2004a). Examples of mortuary deposits from the EC and MC periods may be found at Vounous (Stewart and Stewart 1950), Enkomi (Dikaios 1969), and at Ayia Paraskevi (Kromholz 1982).

At Vounous (Sites A [ECI] and B [ECII–III]) and Enkomi numerous EC–MC tombs were found. The architecture of these consisted of a dromos that ranged in shape from irregular to roughly square, providing access to one or several chambers, whose shapes also ranged from irregular to roughly round or rectangular (Figure 6.8). The stonion between the shaft and the chambers was usually sealed by a single stone slab. The dromoi were usually filled with rubble consisting of stones and soil. The number of occupants ranged from one to nine; these were generally primary interments with some post depositional rearrangement (e.g., Tombs 164A, 124, Keswani 2004; Stewart and Stewart 1950). In regard to the position of each interment, the corpses from Vounous Site A were predominantly arranged in a flexed position on their left sides with arms flexed across their torsos and hands near their faces. There were, however, several burials that were in a supine position, with their legs either extended or flexed upward and arms folded across the chest (Tombs 82 and 83, Stewart and Stewart

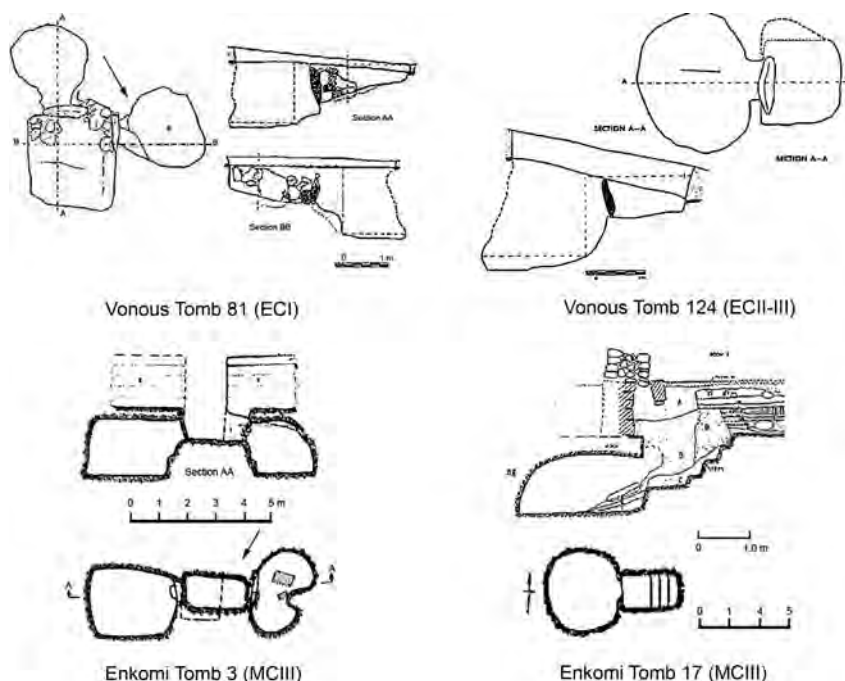


Figure 6.8. Early and Middle Cypriot tomb architecture. Vonous Tombs 81 (ECI) and 124 (EC II–III) adapted from Stewart and Stewart (1950). Enkome, Tombs 3 and 17 (MC III) are adapted from Diakaios (1969).

1950). At Vonous Site B, individuals were predominately placed in supine-flexed or supine-extended positions (Stewart and Stewart 1950; Keswani 2004).

Grave goods accompanied most burials and were also found in numerous dromoi. The quantity of grave goods per individual for both Vonous Sites A and B could be as few as ten and as many as thirty-five. One individual was buried with fifty-eight items in Tomb 111 (Stewart and Stewart 1950). The majority of grave assemblages consisted of ceramic pots; however, other items such as whorls, toggle pins, whetstones, spindles, chisels, axes, knives, daggers, spears, and mace heads also accompanied the dead. The ceramic assemblages were comprised of vessel forms that were repeated with most burials, as those in Tombs 81A, 82, and 124, and Skeleton D at Vonous (Figure 6.9).

The wares were red-slipped and polished with black-slipped and polished rims and upper bodies. The forms included bowls with horizontal, and vertical, lug handles and broad, curved bases; milk bowls; horn-lug



Vonous Tomb 81A



Vonous Tomb 82

Vonous Tomb 124
Skeleton D

Figure 6.9. Early Cypriot burials. The ceramic components of the Early Cypriot funeral kit are depicted around the presumed position of the corpse at the time of burial. This interpretation of the Vonous burials in Tombs 81A (E CI), 82 (E CI) and 124 (EC II–III) adapted from Stewart and Stewart (1950). Not to scale.

bowls; bowls with deep bodies, horizontal lug handles, and flat, stump-like bases; bowls with rounded bases, lug handles, and red-painted crosses on the interiors and exteriors; tulip bowls; jugs with either piri-form, ovoid, or globular bodies and with either long necks and cut-away spouts, concave necks with circular rims, or vertical cylindrical rims, and flat bases; dishes; amphorae with either deep or ovoid bodies and flat, stump-like bases and two handles; flasks; ear-lug pots; juglets; and cult vessels. Bowls, jugs, flasks, ear-lug pots and amphorae comprise the most common and numerous forms among each set. Cult vessels, such as those found in Tombs 87, 91, 111, 153, and 160, could be deep bowls with flat slightly inverted rims, flat bases with or without exterior incised decorations with combinations of spouts, animal heads, and smaller tulip bowls protruding from the rims; chalice bowls with hollow bases and wide, shallow bowls with animals or animal heads and smaller tulip bowls protruding upward from the rims; deep bowls with exterior incised decorations and flat bases with horns and round disc-like projections (Tomb 91 No. 14, Stewart and Stewart 1950); or large tankards with cut-away spouts, supported by two uprights with horn-like finials and exterior incised decoration (Tomb 111 No. 8, Stewart and Stewart 1950). Cult vessels were not deposited with every burial.

At Enkomi, the architecture of three excavated MC III tombs (3, 15, 17) consisted of a dromoi and chambers. Both the dromoi and chambers could be rounded or rectangular in shape. The dromos of Tomb 17 included three steps to accommodate entry. Tombs 3 and 17 were oriented east to west with the dromoi on the west side of the tomb (Figure 6.8) while Tomb 15 was oriented north to south with the dromos located on the south side of the tomb. Of these, only Tomb 3 was undisturbed, and it contained four burials: three adults and one child. These were deposited in a supine position with their heads to the north, surrounded by grave goods, some of which had been placed on top of the corpses. These grave goods were mostly ceramic. The first burial, located near in the eastern side of the chamber was associated with one White Painted V tankard and one large Black Slip jug. The second burial was associated with one White Painted V juglet and a White Painted V bowl, located on the legs. Six bronze spiral hair-rings, a plain ware vessel fragment and a fragmentary red-polished jug may also have been attributed to this individual. The third burial was located in the central area of the tomb and was buried with one Bichrome Wheel-made tankard, and two terra-cotta spindle whorls, which were located

near the legs. The fourth individual, the child, was buried with one red-slipped juglet, one black-slipped juglet, and a lead, hair ring (Dikaïos 1969).

At Ayia Paraskevi, Tombs 7 and 8 illustrate the transition from EC to MC. Based on the ceramics, there appears to be no sudden break but instead a gradual progression from one ceramic type to another (Kromholz 1982). The pottery from these two tombs, as well as from Tombs 6 and 9–11, was strikingly homogenous. The forms most commonly deposited included bowls, juglets, jugs, squat jars, flasks, and bottles. Those of lesser quantity included tankards, amphorae, tripod jugs, strainers, and zoomorphic vessels. The main wares included were Red Polished, White Painted III, IV, V, VI; White Polished Wheel Made III; Base Ring I, II; Bucchero Ware; Red/Black Slip Wheel Made; White Slip II; and Plain Ware Wheel Made I–II. Although the ceramic grave goods from these tombs could not be associated with individual burials, their distribution suggests they formed sets that were likely to have been deposited with individual interments.

In the Late Bronze Age, or Late Cypriot (LC) periods, burial habits from the previous MC period continued, while at the same time new ones developed. In the previous period, cemeteries were removed to outside settlement confines, a practice that was continued by most rural settlements in the LC period. However, urban settlements, especially those which were new or renewed, brought cemeteries back into the confines of the settlement. It is suggested that the shift from rural life to urban habitation resulted in considerable socioeconomic changes that were manifested in new expressions of status, wealth, and kinship. One such expression was made manifest by tomb type, the location of the family tomb, as well as the grave goods (Keswani 2004).

Wealth and status were demonstrated by the architecture, quality, and quantity of grave goods and by placing tombs within city limits near domestic areas and work spaces. By doing this inhabitants could emphasize their ownership and inheritance over specific designated areas such as land, buildings, workshops, and even streets (Keswani 2004:88). The predominant tomb type was the rock-cut, chamber tomb, which consisted of a dromos, stomion, and one to four chambers. The chambers' shape could be oval, round, square, rectangular, and bilobate, which was the most common. Internal architecture included benches niches, and pits in the floor. Examples include Kition Tombs 5 and 4, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios II, Tomb 1, and Stepania Tomb 12 (Figure 6.10). Tholos tombs were also utilized during this period. These

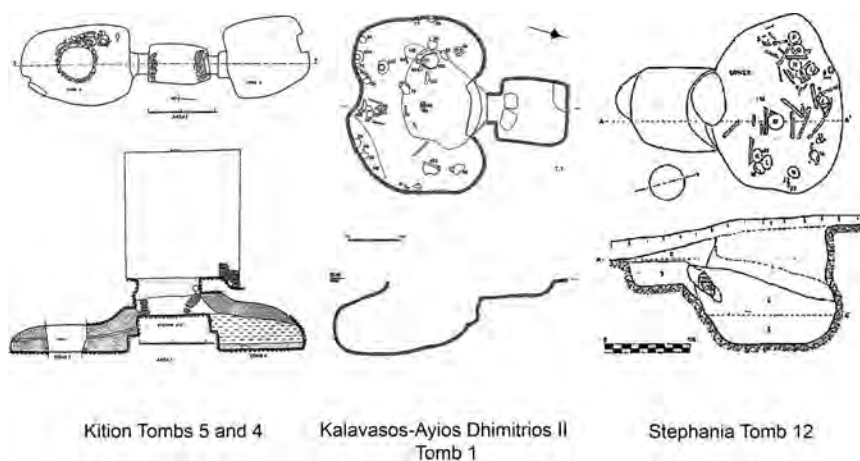


Figure 6.10. Late Cypriot tomb architecture. Selected tomb architecture from Kition Tombs 4 and 5 adapted from Karageorghis (1974); Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios Tomb 1 adapted from Todd (1989); and Stephanía Tomb 12 adapted from Hennessy (1963).

were round or oval pits with a large conical, corbelled superstructure made of mudbrick and stone. The funerary assemblages deposited with each burial demonstrated both individual identity as well as communally shared traditions.

As a whole, the assemblages represent a substantial increase in the assortment of types, quality, and quantity of items deposited with the dead. Funerary variability and uniformity is evident both inter- and intrasite. So, the newly observed socioeconomic organization apparent in associated settlements is also reflected in mortuary LC practices (Steel 2004a). The grave good assemblages that accompanied burials of the LC period were of great quality and quantity. They included both domestic and imported goods indicative of established international trade relationships and the prosperity of the residents of LC Cyprus. Many have interpreted the quantity and quality of the grave assemblages to be reflective of the great wealth and high status of tomb occupants (Karageorghis 2002; Keswani 2004; Steel 2004a).

Excavators have discovered numerous LC tombs only to find that over the centuries many of them had been looted. The rock-cut, chamber tombs were used to house numerous burials for several generations. Old burials were often swept aside or rearranged to make room for new ones. Postdepositional rearrangement suggests ongoing funerary rituals. In many tombs, the quantity of burials and accompanying assemblages

of funerary gifts as well as postdepositional rearrangement has made it difficult to determine to which burial specific grave goods belonged. In some cases, the final deposition remains the least disturbed and offers the most useful data in terms of reconstructing a typical interment. Individuals appear to have been laid out in a supine-extended position with grave goods distributed around the corpse. Orientation appears to have been determined by tomb architecture and orientation. Personal and status items appear to consist of jewelry (rings, earrings), beaded necklaces, faience vessels, seals, mirrors (occasionally), daggers, knives, spears, pins, and figurines. The essential grave goods consisted of vessel forms that were conducive to serving and eating a meal. These included bowls, cups, flasks, bottles, craters, juglets, jugs, jars, tankards, and amphorae and were made from clay, bronze, and occasionally glass. The wares included Base Ring, White Slip, White Painted, Plain White Wheel-made, Bucchero, Red Lustrous Wheel-made, Monochrome, and Rude Style. Imported styles included Levantine-Syro, Mycenaean, and Egyptian wares.

Examples of LC tombs and burials can be found at Bamboula-Kourion (Benson 1972), Tomb 40 (Figure 6.11); Kition (Karageorghis 1974);

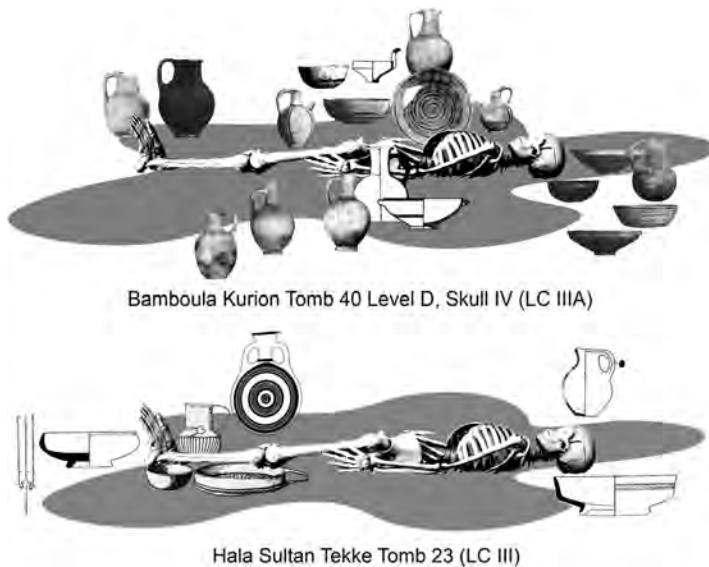


Figure 6.11. Late Cypriot burials. The ceramic components of the Late Cypriot funeral kit depicted around the presumed position of the corpse at the time of burial. Rendered and adapted from Bamboula Kurion Tomb 40, Level D, Skull IV, from Benson (1972) and Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 23 from Åström et al. (1983). Not to scale.

Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström et al. 1976; 1983), Tomb 23 (Figure 6.11); Kalavassos-Vasilikos, (Todd 1986), Tombs 36 and 46; Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios II (Todd 1989), Tomb 1; and Stephanía (Hennessy 1963).

One of the most notable aspects of the Cypriot funerary tradition is its progression from simple to complex. Grave architecture progressed from modest pit graves and shaft graves that held one or several burials to tombs with dromoi, stomia and one or multiple chambers that held multiple burials. Grave assemblages progressed from sets of modest items in moderate quantity to assemblages of large quantity, broad diversity, and high quality. Scholars generally agree that this progression directly corresponds to the rapid increase in wealth and social complexity that Cyprus experienced as a result of increased industry and international trade. Consequently, as society advanced, new socioeconomic realities were reflected in the grave in regard to tomb architecture and the variety, quality, and quantity of grave goods deposited with interments.

However, among the ever increasing extravagance, one characteristic stands out: the homogenous nature of the essential items within the overall assemblages, especially among the ceramic and metal vessels. While most of the interpretive focus of Cypriot grave goods has been on wealth, social status, and increasing social complexity, little attention has been given to funerary rite, ritual, ceremony, and afterlife scenario. One reason for this may be that there are few textual references that offer insight into what may have comprised funerary activities for the periods discussed here. Nevertheless, among the grave goods associated with burials from the Chalcolithic through the Late Cypriot periods, some items appear to have cultic significance because of their unique features while the repetition of other forms suggests ritual action. Among the grave goods found in Middle Chalcolithic Cypriot tombs, dentalium necklaces, picrolite cruciform pendants, zoomorphic pendants, figurines, and bowls, were common to most burials, including children. Perhaps these comprised the essential equipment of Early Cypriot burials. The composition of essential equipment associated with EC burials onward is more obvious because of the homogenous nature of the assemblages and repetition of vessel forms and wares. Cultic or ceremonial activity of some kind has been further assumed based on the presence of unique items such as kraters from the Early and Middle Cypriot periods at Vounous that boast the likenesses of animals' heads, miniature bowls, and horns on the rims (e.g.,

at Vounous Tombs 91, 145, 105, 111, and 160, Stewart and Stewart 1950). However, when it comes to one ceremonial activity, Cypriot scholars agree that feasting was widely practiced, perhaps as early as the Middle Chalcolithic period, but was certainly a well-established practice by the Bronze Age (Steel 2004b). Evidence for such feasting may be found with the type of ceramic and metal vessels deposited with the deceased, which comprise feasting and drinking sets. These sets have been found in both settlement and mortuary contexts and find further proof as banqueting sets in pictorial representations on decorated kraters and frescos as well as some Linear B texts (Steel 2004b; Wright 2004). The presence of feasting and drinking sets in the mortuary context lend artifactual evidence that a funerary banquet was held for the deceased as part of the funerary ritual and ceremony (Hamilakis 1998).⁴⁷ Although there is little information in regard to a Cypriot afterlife scenario, it may be assumed that the provision of foodstuffs represented both a funerary meal and the need for sustenance in the afterlife. The remnants of cattle, sheep/ goat, doves, fish, grape and olive pits, lentil, wheat, and barley suggest that at least some of the vessels contained food stuffs, which may have been part of a funerary meal and provision of sustenance for the deceased as at Vounous (Stewart and Stewart 1950) and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (Goring 1989; Todd 1989; Steel 2004a). As with the Canaanite funeral kit, the repetition in vessel forms and remnant of foodstuffs reflects the invisible obsequies that likely took place.

Beyond Canaan: Summary and Discussion

In attempting to test the funeral kit theory by applying it to the mortuary practices of other cultures in different regions of the Mediterranean basin, it became very clear that, even within this relatively limited geographical sphere, cross-discipline comparison is not a simple matter. Therefore, the survey presented in this chapter offers only a general, over-simplified summary of the burial customs and practices of these three diverse and geographically spread societies and cultures, focusing primarily on the essential grave goods that accompanied the burials in order to identify comparative and common patterns. The data surveyed indicate numerous characteristics shared in common among each of these cultures: their mortuary practices evolved over a long period of time; they all practiced well established funerary rituals and

ceremonies; they affirmed the continued existence of the human spirit beyond death; their grave goods identified persona, status/wealth, and, most importantly, they provided essential equipment vital to the survival of an individual's spirit into the next world.

Though abbreviated, the above summaries illuminate the use and development of essential grave goods outside of Canaan and provide evidence for culturally specific funeral kits. Beginning with Pre-Dynastic Egypt, it is clear that even among these early burials, provision for the needs of the deceased was a fundamental and well-established tradition. This mortuary etiquette included relatively standardized grave architecture, burial garments, burial posture, and essential grave goods, consisting mostly of ceramic vessels. Although there was some variation, basic patterns can be observed which suggest adherence to recognized rite, ritual, ceremony and an afterlife scenario that required the provision of food and drink, evidenced by the ceramic vessels.

While the repetitious deposition of a relatively predictable grave assemblage suggests adherence to mortuary ritual and beliefs, as time progressed, changes in burial practice such as grave architecture, use of a coffin, change in the attitude of the corpse, quality and quantity of essential grave goods may also suggest the fracturing of society into socioeconomic classes. Similarly, the mature afterlife scenario of later periods was reflected by the changing corpus of essential grave goods, complemented by tomb paintings, texts, and grave architecture; however, this is the topic of another discussion. The funeral kit of Pre-Dynastic Egypt, then, would consist mainly of ceramic vessels (bowls, jugs, jars, vases, and spouted vessels) capable of holding and serving foodstuffs and burial garments (wrapping of linen and/or goat skin). The mortuary traditions of the Etruscans reveal similar adherence to culturally specific obsequies and afterlife scenario.

Although the Etruscans' afterlife scenario is not well understood, the deposition of predictable grave assemblages attests to a well developed other-worldly existence and cast of characters, with a funerary script that appears to have included banqueting with and in honor of the deceased. Eternal banqueting must have been equally important judging from the type and quantity of banqueting paraphernalia that accompanied the deceased. These consisted of metal and ceramic vessels and objects including cauldron stands, mixing bowls, large vases, kraters, and storage jars, which were used as service-ware; trays, bowls, cups, plates, and knives, which served as tableware; and candle and

lamp stands, carts, couches, and braziers, which facilitated the banquet. These items, specifically the food-service vessels, not only provided eternal sustenance for the deceased, but they may also have represented an ongoing, eternal banquet which may have held some importance to the Etruscans. Additionally, eggs, symbols of birth and eternal life, were frequently among grave goods and in tomb paintings. These may have symbolized the Etruscans belief that the spirit was reborn into a new life in the afterworld. Hand-held mirrors were deposited with enough regularity to warrant speculation as to their apotropaic qualities. The Etruscan funeral kit, then would most likely have included metal and ceramic vessels that would have contained and served foodstuffs; food items that symbolized birth and eternal life; and possibly a talisman to ward off evil. The burial practices of Cyprus exhibit a progression from simple to complex; beginning with simple grave architecture and burial items to labor intensive architecture and large burial assemblages. Even though burial assemblages in the early Cypriot periods can be described as simple, they were nevertheless predictable and formed a pattern representing behavior that suggests adherence to standardized beliefs and practices. Cyprus' progression to a complex society is reflected in the mortuary record; tomb architecture became more elaborate and grave assemblages grew in quantity, quality and variety. Bronze Age grave assemblages consisted mainly of ceramic and metal bowls, cups, flasks, juglets, spouted vessels, jugs, jars, and kraters. Some of these formed known sets, such as drinking sets, which were usually made of bronze, while the majority of them were intended to present, serve, and eat a meal. Other items, such as pins, suggest the deceased were probably clothed in some sort of garment, also essential to a proper burial. The repetition of vessel type among the later assemblages suggests that the inhabitants of Bronze Age Cyprus engaged in established funerary obsequies and that their afterlife scenario required the provision of the deceased with sustenance. The Cypriot funeral kit would have included metal and ceramic vessels that were conducive to containing, serving, and eating a meal, as well as a pin and a burial garment.

The archaeological and artifactual record, though by no means complete, suggests that some aspects of the mortuary practices and burial rites of the Canaanites, while culturally unique to them, shared overarching similarities that were utilized and developed independently by peoples of varying cultures and geographical location. If the funeral kit theory can be used to tease-out reflections of funerary rite, ritual,

ceremony and afterlife scenario in these three extra-Canaanite cultures, then it is likely that it can do so for others. While the funeral kit model works well for the Canaanites, it may also work well for disparate peoples. However, it is apparent that a culturally specific funeral kit model will have to be developed on a case by case—people by people—basis. The overarching intention is to approach mortuary practices from the standpoint of uniformity, identifying that which binds the community and identifying the ritual and ceremonial aspects found in the archaeological record. It is my hope that scholars who focus on mortuary practices in more distant geographical locations, different time periods, and diverse cultural traditions will apply this theory to other ancient burials and provide constructive feedback.

Chapter 7

Evidence and Theory



In the opening chapter, I introduced the theoretical aspects of the long-held interpretation of grave goods, relative to funeral rites and ceremonies, as predominantly an indicator of socioeconomic status. Over and against this traditional approach, my research has primarily focused on the ceremonial aspects of burial and grave goods, which I have identified as the funeral kit. Throughout this work, it has been my contention that mortuary uniformity is as significant as mortuary variability and that both deserve equal attention and treatment in order to establish a holistic view of death, burial, and afterlife in the Ancient Near East. The intervening chapters have offered a careful survey of the archaeological evidence that best illustrates mortuary uniformity, the components of the funeral kit, its evolution, and its subsequent decline into virtual disuse in the wake of new and emerging concepts of the afterlife in the ancient world. In this chapter, theory and data will be woven together to offer a fully integrated approach to understanding and interpreting mortuary uniformity in the archaeological record.

Drawing on the evidence and data presented in the preceding chapters and incorporating new examples from outside Canaanite, it may be reasonably assumed that in most cultures, funerary rites and ceremonies consisted of the preparation of a corpse for burial, a mourning period, fasting and feasting, interment in a grave or tomb, and the deposition of grave goods. It may also be assumed that aspects of these invisible activities were reflected in grave goods, especially those that formed the funeral kit. What is not so well understood (in some cases)

is the order in which these activities occurred and the length of time it may have taken to perform them. Ultimately, however, the order and length of time in which these activities were executed is not critical to an argument in favor of mortuary uniformity. It may also be assumed that most cultures had well developed funerary liturgies and afterlife scenarios, which is in some way reflected by the burial deposit. While this work has focused primarily on mortuary uniformity, it is important to note that both mortuary uniformity and variability were inextricably woven into the funerary process, making each component equally critical to the interpretation of complex ancient civilizations and cultures.

Preparation of the Corpse and Mourning

Upon death, the first task was to prepare the corpse for burial. In many cultures this included: washing the body; anointing it with oils, perfumes and ointments, spices and herbs; the placement of amulets, jewelry, toiletries, weaponry, and/or other ornamentation and personal belongings; and dressing the body in a garment and/or burial shroud. This intimate, respectful, act not only prepared the body for interment, but it also masked the stench of a rotting corpse. During this stage of the process, liturgical words or actions may have been spoken and performed to protect the spirit in preparation for its journey and safe arrival in the afterlife. Washing, anointing, and dressing the corpse is evident in numerous ancient cultures, such as in Canaan (chapter two), Greece (Garland 2001), and Rome (Toynbee 1971). It also continues to be practiced until the present day in some places (Colman 1997). Preparation of the body was performed by family members, either by the women of the household (Garland 2001) or by members of the same sex as the deceased (Colman 1997).

In Canaan, the artifactual evidence for the preparation of the corpse may be found in the associated grave goods. In almost every phase of the development of the Canaanite funeral kit, numerous juglets—small and medium sized—with very narrow necks, allowing only a small quantity of the commodity to pour out, were associated with most burials. The vessels that may have held mixtures of unguents and perfumes included the small red- or black-polished or burnished piriform juglets, ovoid-shaped juglets, stirrup jars, as well as imported wares such as Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets, Cypriot wares, and spindle flasks. Examples may be found at Tell el-'Ajjul in Tombs 406, 1405, 1406, and 1514; Aphek

in Tombs 428, 490, and 2121; Beth Shean in Tombs 29, and 59; Tell Dothan, Tomb 1; Tell el-Far'ah (North) in Tombs 3, AN, AM, H, and X; Tell el-Far'ah (South) in Tombs 550, 551, and 905; Gibeon Tomb 15; Tel Halif; Hazor in Tombs 1181, 8065, and 8144–8145; Jericho in Tombs J14, B35, J3, and H6; Lachish in Tombs 119, 153, 173, and 1003; and at Tel Aviv Harbour. Similar juglets were found among Cypriot burials as well (Keswani 2004). Once washed and anointed, the corpse was either dressed in a garment, wrapped in linens or cloth, or both. During this process, words of a liturgy may have been spoken, prayers offered, or spells cast as a way to prepare and protect the spirit for its journey into the afterworld. Artifactual evidence of these actions may be represented by the placement of amulets with the corpse (e.g., scarabs and ankhs) as in the Egyptian tradition. While the act of dressing the corpse appears to have been a common ceremonial act, the garment itself may have been a simple shroud, everyday garment, or extravagant garb that in and of itself may have conveyed the individual's socioeconomic status within the community (Thompson 1908). For example, at Jericho the individual buried in Tomb J3 (Kenyon 1960) is considered to have been a warrior because of the armor and sword found with the body.

The artifactual evidence for dressing a corpse resides in the remnants of fabric and/or the negative impressions left on tomb floors and grave goods, such as ceramic or metal. In some Etruscan tombs, such as at Chiusi, bits of clothing still “clinging” (Jannot 2000:89) to bones of the deceased were recovered. In Canaan, at Jericho, for example, in Tombs H22 (Kenyon 1960:500–513, 521–523 Pls. XXXVI–XXXVII) H18 (Kenyon 1960:486–500, 523) and J1 (Kenyon 1960:425–438, 524), fabric remnants and impressions have been found on, below, and near corpses. Further artifactual evidence may be found in toggle (dressing) pins and other accoutrements, such as belt buckles and brooches. Toggle pins were found during the Bronze Age in Canaan at sites such as Hazor, Megiddo, Lachish, and Tell el-Far'ah (North) and Tell el-Far'ah (South). These pins were used to secure closure of a garment and were usually fixed at the shoulder, which is where most toggle pins are located when discovered with a burial. Toggle pins were also found in Cypriot graves (Keswani 2004).

The next stage of the funerary process may have been to take the corpse to an intermediary site where it could be displayed for a short period of time prior to interment, so mourners could pay their last

respects. The corpse was displayed either at the deceased's residence or a more public place where the body could lay-in-state; perhaps this was one function of the *bêth marzēah*. Artifactual evidence for mourning the dead has been found among the Mycenaeans and Egyptians. In some Mycenaean tombs, *lekane*s (Perati, Tombs 5 and 111a), and painted *larnaxes* (as at Niarchos, Kassel, and Tanagra in Tombs 6, 16, and 60) have been found that depict mourning scenes. The lekane figurines depict stylized females with their hands on their heads, which was a common way to portray mourning. Similarly, the larnaxes depict stylized females with column-like torsos, wearing full-length garments with elbow-length sleeves. In some depictions, the woman is fully clothed, while in others, bare breasts are represented by circles. Wavy lines depict the fabric of the garment and perhaps also its pattern. Their plump arms reach up to their heads, which are covered with a headdress and their faces appear to have been scratched (Iakovidis 1966; Gallou 2005). In Egypt, professional mourners were often depicted on tomb walls, as at the Tomb of Ramose (de Garis Davies 1941). Thus, it would appear that numerous cultures washed, anointed, and dressed the corpse for burial. Once ready, the corpse was displayed for a short period of time so mourners could pay their last respects. It may have been during the mourning period that a funeral and banquet were held in honor of the deceased. When funerary activities were complete, the deceased was ready for interment in his/her final resting place.

Afterlife Scenario, Essential Grave Goods, and Burial

In the final stage of the funerary process, the deceased would be interred in the grave or tomb and accompanied by grave goods (personal, status-related, and essential). It is the essential category of grave goods that has been of interest in this work, because they reflect not only the invisible aspects of the funerary process but the afterlife scenarios as well. Snippets of ancient afterlife scenarios can be obtained from epics, sagas, and philosophical musings, such as Mesopotamia's *The Descent of Inanna* and *The Gilgamesh Epic*; Ugaritic texts such as the *Tale of Aqhat* and the *Legend of King Keret*; Egyptian texts such as *The Fields of Paradise*, *Good Fortune of the Dead*, and the *Coffin Texts*; and the work of Greek writers such as Herodotus, Homer, Aristotle, Plato, and The Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.

For millennia humans have sought to overcome, deny, and cheat death by seeking immortality through offspring, great works within the community, or grandiose buildings; anything that would preserve the memory of an individual and that which he/she accomplished during his/her lifetime. Ancient literature describes those who attempted to gain immortality (e.g., *The Epic of Gilgamesh*) only to discover that humans always have been and always will be mortal and must suffer death. The thought that a person could simply cease to exist upon death must have been so overwhelming that afterlife scenarios were created wherein the spirits of the dead, or the ancestors, continued to exist and even continued to interact with the living. Belief in the eternal existence of a loved one must have been comforting to surviving family and friends, even though this existence was in another form and in another realm. Interestingly, however, early afterlife scenarios did not place the deceased in a paradisiacal, care-free world, but rather in realms that were dark, dusty and gloomy, and inhabited by demons, monsters, and self-centered deities who often quarreled with their equals. It was not until much later that the idea of a peaceful, paradisiacal existence with a caring deity replaced a gloomy, supernatural existence. Consequently, the lack of divine care for the dead required surviving family members to provide it and if proper attention was not given, the dead could meddle negatively in their lives. The needs of the deceased in the netherworld were similar to those of this world; requiring clothing, food, drink, weapons, status-markers, and entertainment. This need for perpetual mortuary care-giving maintained a kind of virtual relationship between the living and the dead. Later, as afterlife scenarios developed and the dead no longer required close attention, surviving family members were relieved of their mortuary duties.

A common theme among the early scenarios is the lack of supernatural care of the deceased, who had to procure his/her own daily needs, which were met by the surviving family. The most basic need was for food and drink; a fundamental element in so many of the early afterlife scenarios. In fact, food was so vital that vessels once containing foodstuffs often comprise the largest percentage of burial assemblages when compared with other associated grave categories. These vessels appear in the form of food-service vessels, tableware, and packaging for commodities, which were common in grave assemblages for so many cultural groups (Canaanite, Mesopotamian, Etruscan, Mycenaean, and Egyptian). Specific forms for food-service vessels included large

platter-bowls, some of which still contained remnants of the meals they once served such as the skulls of sheep/goat kraters, utensil stands, oinochoai, kyathoi, jugs, beaked jugs, and storage jars (Ashkelon in Chamber 14 [above Ch. 3]; Baker 2002; Egypt, Emery 1962; Etruscans, Hostetter 1998). Tableware included smaller vessels such as bowls, plates, and cups. Etruscan tombs included bronze vessels that comprised drinking sets (Hostetter 1998). Remnants of food, such as meat, fruits, fish, and liquid, in these smaller vessels such as at Sakkara, Tomb 3477 (Emery 1962) and at Jericho (Kenyon 1960) attest to their function as tableware. Imported wares, especially in Canaanite tombs, such as Cypriot Base Ring Wares, were probably sought after because of the commodity they contained rather than the aesthetic of the vessel form. Finally, large vessels, such as storage jars, held a never-ending supply of drink and/or, perhaps, grain for the deceased. In Etruscan and Mycenaean tombs, nonfood items such as stands, tripods, candelabras, lamps, and basins suggest these were well-appointed banquets (Hostetter 1998; Gallou 2005:82–93). Consequently, the food and banquet-related items that were repeatedly deposited in tombs exemplify both the funerary banquet as well as the family's need to provide eternal nourishment for the deceased.

Other artifactual evidence of afterlife scenarios may be found in Greek and Egyptian tombs. The deceased in some Greek tombs were buried with an obol between the teeth, in the hand, or on the body. This coin was payment to the ferryman, Charon, for passage across the river Styx, as mentioned by Aristophanes in *Frogs*, where the fare was two obols. This, however, appears to be a later custom beginning in the Hellenistic period, attesting to ever-changing afterlife scenarios (Garland 2001). The Egyptian afterlife was located in the heavens and one could ascend there by riding on a falcon, a goose, or a bird of any kind, or on the smoke of incense, on a ladder of the outstretched arms of gods, or by traveling in a boat (Oaks and Gahlin 2007). To aid them, any Egyptian who could afford it could purchase a guidebook, in the form of a scroll or painted on a tomb wall or coffin. These guidebooks provided instructions that helped the deceased successfully leave the tomb, navigate the underworld, and arrive safely to a rejuvenated existence in the afterlife. Ultimately, the Egyptians' perception of the afterlife was of a paradisiacal existence wherein the life of this world was paralleled, but without the hardship of worry or heavy labor (Oaks and Gahlin 2007). It was an idealized image of life in the Nile Valley,

with abundant food, flowing fields of wheat, barley, flax, and emmer, all teeming with wildlife, free from any kind of work on behalf of the deceased. Whatever work had to be done was performed by *shuabtis* and models of slaves engaged in the dull tasks of life, such as baking bread or grinding barley, while tomb paintings and models magically provided daily necessities for the deceased.

As afterlife scenarios changed and the gods became more directly involved with the deceased in terms of protection and providing for their well-being, the family's need to deposit food with the deceased became increasingly redundant and eventually obsolete. As a result, the food and nonfood related items that comprised the funeral kit disappeared and were replaced with other essential objects that ensured the well-being of the spirit. This transition is especially obvious in Canaan as individual city-states consolidated into a single, unified nation, as polytheism gave way to monotheism, and as Christianity spread to new regions.

In later afterlife scenarios, the rebirth of the individual (bodily and/or spiritually) in the next world was prominent among the Egyptians, late Etruscans, and in late Judaism and Christianity. Objects such as the scarab and ankh (Egyptian), an egg (Etruscan, Roman), and cross (Christian) all symbolize a belief in the revitalization of the spirit/body in the next world. The Etruscans (beginning around the 6th century BCE) believed that two deities, *Calu-Aita* and *Phersipnai*, protected life after death; however, it is to *Phersipnai* that life after death is attributed. She is often depicted as a female with full breasts, offering life-giving milk to the deceased who may be depicted as a child reborn (Jannou 2000). Some Mycenaean tombs contained wildlife such as birds and butterflies in the form of ornaments or jewelry. Some birds, such as the eagle and owl may have been apotropaic, or may have been similar to Egypt's soul bird that carries the soul from this world to the next. Butterflies may represent the life cycle as it grows from caterpillar to butterfly (Gallou 2005).

Most significant among the rebirth scenarios was that posed by Christianity, which boasted a deity who promised rebirth and everlasting care in heaven. With this sort of rebirth and supernatural attention from a deity, there was little need for essential grave goods; nevertheless, personal items were often buried with the deceased, though not in great quantity. Those who accepted Christianity's theological tenets are easily recognizable in the archaeological record by the small quantity of

grave goods and the presence of a cross and other symbolic items such as an egg (no doubt borrowed from Etruscan and Roman paganism), depictions on tomb walls of the *ichthys* (fish), palm branches, the *chi-ro* symbol, doves, the saints, and so on. It is known from texts in the New Testament that the cross symbolized Christ's death and resurrection, and the Christians embraced the cross as a symbol not only of their beliefs but also of their own salvation and rebirth in heaven (Mark 8.34, 10.45, 15.32; Luke 9.23, 14.27; and Tertullian *To the Nations* 1.12 and *The Apology* 16.6). Tomb walls boasting these symbols include Bet Guvrin East Cemetery (II), Caves II.37 and II.28 (Avni et al. 2008), the Marisha crypt in Jerusalem (Amit and Wolff 1994), and Rammun (Taha 1998). As Christianity spread, graves in Canaan (known in this period as Palaestina), Europe, Egypt (Copts), and other countries that contained crosses, depictions of crosses, and other Christian iconography may be assumed to have adhered to that promise of rebirth in the afterlife.

As another example outside Canaan, grave goods of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking burials of the 6th century BCE to the 13th century CE, betray an individual's afterlife beliefs. According to the *Poetic Edda*, *Grimnismál*, *Heimskringla*, and others like it, Valhalla is the place where half of those involved in battle will be taken by Valkyries. The other half go to Fólkvangr. A warrior would have been buried with his (or her) battle gear as well as food, drink, and other personal items. A noncombatant may have been buried with ceremonial weapons. As Christianity spread and took hold across northern Europe around the 10th and 11th centuries, the conversion process was slow but steady. Although leaders such as Hakon of Norway, tried to introduce Christianity, the masses may have accepted its tenets but also continued to hold feasts, festivals, and rituals for their pagan deities (Belloni du Chaillu 2005:464–477; Gilchrist 2008). Among those who accepted and adhered only to Christianity, essential grave goods began to include a cross, parchment with scripture or prayer, (e.g. a female from Benedictine Priory, St. James, Bristol [Gilchrist 2008:125]), or inscribed lead rolls (Gilchrist 2008), and little else. Those who were of mixed or hybrid belief, that is both Christianity and paganism, were buried with essential grave goods of mixed symbolic meaning. These essential items included Christian symbols as well as charms, staffs, rods, talismans, crystals, and Thor hammers. Essential grave goods of mixed symbolic meaning indicate the slow process by which Christianity was assimilated (Gilchrist 2008; Mägi 2004).

The items that comprise the essential category of grave goods reflect the culturally specific afterlife scenario. Within each cultural group, certain items were repeatedly deposited with most burials within a given tomb, cemetery, or necropolis that were not necessarily meant to convey the individual's socioeconomic status but rather address specific requirements dictated by their afterlife scenario. The uniformity of these grave goods reflects not only the funerary ceremony but the equipment that will be required by the deceased based on what will happen to him/her in the next world. It is this uniformity, which suggests that at the time of death, socioeconomic status no longer carried the same significance as it did in life. After all, Charon charged both common and high-ranked people the same obol to carry them on his boat. However, as a by-product of wealth, those who could afford better quality essential grave goods and in greater quantity, did not hesitate to flaunt their position, perhaps hoping to impose or announce their affluence on and to those in this world and the next.

Discussion

That which is invisible is not easily understood and often goes unexplained, even avoided, because tangible proof for the unseen may be lacking. Rites, rituals, and ceremonies are largely invisible. Nevertheless, scholars, such as van Gennep (1960), Hodder (1980, 1982), Morris (1987) Trigger (1989), and C. Bell (1997) have attempted to define them based on patterns found in the archaeological and anthropological records. However, even the interpretive focus of these unseen traditional observances has tended toward diversity and the predominant identification of socioeconomic status within them. Certainly diversity holds a valuable place within any society, but if diversity was the only shared characteristic within a community or among societies, then how would humanity survive? There must be some cohesion that binds and balances humanity over and against that which divides it. Routinely celebrated events, such as birth, marriage, and death, provide stability, order, and shared values, offering a familiarity that all members of a community and culture can depend upon in a world that can be filled with so many unpredictable events. One such event is death, whether it is expected, due to prolonged illness, or it is sudden. Death is traumatic, and the rites, rituals, and ceremonies associated with it provide stability by offering comfort in

culturally specific mortuary traditions through which to process the event. Were it not for traditions such as these, the fabric of society would unravel. Mortuary uniformity is but one of the many aspects that holds together and helps to shape humanity.

Recognizing mortuary uniformity in the archaeological record should be second nature, just as it is to identify mortuary variability. When encountering burials, in addition to asking what do the patterns and corpus of artifacts say about the individual's persona and socioeconomic status, it should be asked, "what do the artifact patterns and overall assemblages of grave goods say about the culturally specific rites, rituals, and ceremonies and the afterlife scenario?" Based on artifacts, uniformity will be apparent by the repetition of specific types of grave goods with nearly all individuals in a tomb (multiburial) or among multiple graves within a cemetery. When multiple burials receive similar items—vessel forms, amulets, figurines—it suggests deliberate, repeated behavior, at a certain time and in a certain space, which defines ritual and ceremony (Gallou 2005). These intentionally deposited items reflect the liturgy and actions that comprised funerary activities. For example, if the funerary ceremony included the ritual and celebratory drinking of coffee in honor of the deceased and the afterlife scenario says that the deceased will sit in a café and drink coffee for all of eternity, then a coffee mug(s) deposited with a burial(s) would reflect both the ceremony and the scenario (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1. Coffee Culture People. Four individuals representing a hypothetical people who believed that upon death they went to an afterlife where they would sit at a café and drink coffee for all eternity. Their essential grave goods consisted of a coffee mug and possibly a supply of coffee beans, a coffee grinder (not illustrated), and a brewer. Photograph by J. L. Baker. Not to scale.

After all, coffee mugs may not be supplied in the next world and/or a person might want to bring their favorite mug with them from which to drink for all of eternity. Coffee beans, brewing apparatuses, and a coffee bean grinder may also be among the essential grave goods deposited with the deceased in this scenario, because these also may not be provided in the afterlife. Maybe some were buried with their own table and chair so as to be guaranteed space at the eternal café, in case they are overbooked. So the funeral kit of the Coffee Culture People would consist of a combination of a coffee mug, coffee beans, a grinder, brewer, and possibly a chair and/or table. When comparing coffee mugs among burials, there may be variation of style, decoration, size and quantity—and some mugs may boast the name of the deceased, to avoid these being lost or stolen. The size, decoration, quality of the coffee mug does not necessarily make a difference to mortuary uniformity because the mere presence of the coffee mug reveals both the ritual and the afterlife scenario.

Similarly, the brewer, grinder, table, and chair, may also occur in different styles, sizes, decoration and quality, yet their very presence reflects the beliefs of the Coffee Culture People. Although the coffee mug may symbolically represent ritual and scenario, one of the threads that binds the fabric of society, a comparison of the mugs may paradoxically reveal socioeconomic status. Some mugs may be plainly or elaborately decorated, their shape may be mundane or ornate, or made from mundane material such as clay or superior materials such as gold or silver. The variability among coffee mug types would reveal personal preference and the socioeconomic status of the deceased within his/her community. So in this case, the artifactual evidence performs double-duty: first as a functional part of the invisible obsequies and afterlife scenario; second as a marker of socioeconomic status.

As time goes on, and the Coffee Culture Peoples' afterlife scenario evolves, their essential grave goods change as well. Instead of being buried with a mug, coffee beans, brewer and grinder, they were buried with a stone, clay, silver or gold coffee bean that could be worn either as a necklace, bracelet, or ring as a symbol of their new afterlife scenario. In this later scenario, the Great Coffee Barista will provide the deceased with any form of coffee drink they would like—latte, cappuccino, espresso, skinny nonfat chocolate latte—in any combination and in any quantity. Now the deceased need not bring their own coffee related equipment since it will be readily available to them. The funerary

ceremony may still include the drinking of coffee with and in honor of the deceased; however, the essential equipment has changed to reflect this new scenario. Regardless of evolving afterlife scenarios and deities, these obsequies serve to bind the local community and wider culture in well-established traditions. In addition to the essential coffee-related grave goods, Coffee Culture People also buried some of their dead in a cloak and/or with personal items, such as necklaces, rings, and other items that were integral to their persona. However, these items were not part of the funeral kit since they were not buried with each individual and instead serve to reveal an individual's socioeconomic status.

This simplified example serves to summarize the funeral kit theory, based on mortuary uniformity, as well as mortuary variability. The example of the Coffee Culture People illustrates similar patterns that have been observed and discussed regarding Canaanite, Pre-Dynastic Egypt, Etruscan, and Cypriot burials. The example of the Coffee Culture People also demonstrates that both mortuary uniformity and variability are inextricably intertwined and that the items that comprise the funeral kit may hold dual meaning—ceremony as well as socioeconomic status. These concepts should be applied when burials are encountered during excavation and used as a tool to re-examine burials that have already been excavated. The observable patterns will reveal that when it comes to rite, ritual, and ceremony all people are equal.

Chapter 8

The Ties That Bind



The archeological discussion of ancient mortuary practices has traditionally focused on the apparent distinctions between deceased individuals relative to the quantity and type of items interred with them. Archaeologists have preferred to interpret these as indicators of their sphere of influence and status within their particular communities. Consequently, it is generally accepted that this variability in mortuary practice reflects the socioeconomic standing of an individual within his/her community, which has been discussed at some length in the literature. These distinctions are determined in the archaeological record by the presence of elaborate funerary architecture, sumptuous grave goods, and specialty items. Conversely, the archaeological record also offers evidence of uniformity in mortuary practices and a similarity in the treatment of the deceased, which would suggest a more egalitarian approach than has been previously considered. The similarities are evidenced in the archaeological record by the deposition of grave goods that were common to all (or most) burials within a geo-cultural location. The uniformity in mortuary practice is indicative of a firmly established tradition of funerary rites, rituals, and ceremonies that were afforded to every, or most, members of a community irrespective of their rank, age, or sex. In order to fully appreciate ancient mortuary practices, and by extension the complexities of societies, it would be equally instructive to focus attention on both mortuary variability and uniformity. A shift of focus to include those elements that connect a community with its dead and to each other, through ritual and ceremony, should reveal

the threads that bind the fabric of a society over and against those that would seem to sever them.

The comprehensive analysis of Canaanite, grave good, assemblages described in this work, both intrasite and intersite, reveals that while some items were unique to individual burials (mortuary variability), others were repetitiously deposited among multiple burials (mortuary uniformity). Given that so many Middle and Late Bronze Age Canaanite tombs contained hundreds of burials, each interred with multiple, non-ceramic and ceramic grave goods of repeated types and traditionally read as indicators of high socioeconomic standing, are we to conclude that there were hundreds of Canaanites who enjoyed high socioeconomic status (Figure 8.1)?

While the ceramic components of the funeral kit satisfied a specific purpose in the funerary process, the actual physical objects were not the binding force, for it was the underlying traditions they represented that created the bond. So the fact that Uncle Charlie had ten essential items interred with him and Aunt Mildred had fifteen is irrelevant. The essential function of the ceramic portion of the Canaanite funeral kit remained a threefold constant: first as a practical component of the funerary feast; second, to ensure the well-being of the deceased; and third, to act as a physical reminder, or symbol, of the traditions and events that comprised the invisible funerary rites. As mentioned above, a non-Canaanite illustration may be observed in later, Egyptian



Figure 8.1. Rendering of skeletons with personal, status, and essential grave goods. Fabricated burials representing the use of grave goods: personal items are reflected by the jewelry (bracelet, necklace, and figurine); status and or professional markers are represented by weapons and tools (arrow heads, “sword,” dental instruments); and essential items are reflected in the scarabs, ceramic juglets and wooden bowls, and oil bottle. These “burials” are hypothetical and do not depict any known burial. The “artifacts” are modern vessels. This graphic is for illustrative purposes only. Photograph by J. L. Baker. Not to scale.

mortuary practice that included elaborate architecture, such as *mastabas* and pyramids; essential items such as canopic jars, *ushabtis*, miniature models; and an artificially mummified corpse. The distinguishing characteristic of these particular artifacts immediately identifies the burial as Egyptian. Yet the Egyptologist is also acutely aware of the invisible rites, rituals, ceremonies, and afterlife scenario that existed apart from the artifacts, but which they represented. In his article on Egyptian mortuary liturgies, Assmann (1990) discusses a corpus of standardized funerary literature intended for use in the mortuary cult by "... the living, i.e., the mortuary priest performing his rites in the tomb" (1990:2). The texts indicate that during the presentation of food offerings as the priest recited the words of the liturgy, there were corresponding manual actions performed to symbolize them, some of which are evidenced by the archaeological record. The essential grave goods that accompanied Egyptian burials serve as artifactual evidence of elaborate funerary rites, which bound ancient Egyptians together both as local communities and as a larger cultural group. A similar set of standardized mortuary liturgies specific to the Canaanite tradition probably existed, which included both a spoken liturgy and corresponding manual actions. The distinctive set of essential grave goods or funeral kit associated with Canaanite burials is the artifactual representation of Canaanite mortuary liturgy(ies) and afterlife scenario, which bound the Canaanites together both in their local communities and as a widely dispersed cultural group.

As Canaanite society emerged from the multiple, lineage-based, city-states of the Bronze Age into a single unified nation, religious concepts also evolved. It is generally accepted that the emergence of statehood was accompanied by the rise of monotheism, the significance of individual identity, and developing concepts of bodily resurrection. These emerging concepts contributed significantly to new developments in burial practices that were echoed by corresponding changes in mortuary architecture (Bloch-Smith 2002; Finkelstein 1999; Halpern 1991). In tandem with the establishment of statehood and centralized government, the role of centralized religion became increasingly important. The inhabitants of Iron Age Palestine were encouraged to turn from the pantheon of their forebears in favor of worshipping a single deity who expressed concern for the well-being of his worshippers and provided for their daily needs. In the world of mortals, centralized government provided national security while centralized religion offered

the promise of supernatural security in the afterlife. As a consequence of these secular and religious developments that included the rise of the state, the dissolution of kinship ties, and the impotence of the ancestors, accompanied by new notions of supernatural care and protection in the afterlife, it was no longer necessary to provide sustenance for the deceased. This significant shift in mortuary practice is reflected in the decline of the use of essential equipment in the tomb. The promise of a paradisiacal existence beyond death, in which the deity provides for the needs of the deceased, renders a funeral kit, containing foodstuffs to provide sustenance for them, redundant. This redundancy would also account for the disappearance of the funeral kit in the Hellenistic and Roman periods among those who adhered to the new religious beliefs.

In the ancient world, a proper burial was of paramount importance and a basic right extended to every member of a community irrespective of his/her status in it (except, perhaps, criminals and despicable individuals, cf. Jezebel 1 Kings 14:11, 16:4, 21:23–26; 2 Kings 9:33–37). A proper burial included a funeral and interment, complete with prescribed rites, rituals, and ceremonies. Although certain elements of the funerary ceremony, tomb architecture and grave goods may have been more elaborate for those of higher socioeconomic status, the basic rite and ritual remained substantially unaltered. For as much as funerary activities were intended to benefit the dead, they also benefited their survivors. Culturally specific rites bound family members, friends, and the community as they mourned the loss of the deceased. Archaeologically, the Canaanite funeral kit is the artifactual evidence of that specific moment in time when mourners shared one last meal with and in honor of the deceased, binding the surviving community to the deceased and with each other, symbolizing the living sinew that binds the fabric of society. Not only does the funeral kit attest to invisible obsequies but it also represents the Canaanites' notion of existence in the netherworld. Once we move outside Canaan, into broader geographical and chronological contexts, it is clear that human beings share numerous characteristics when it comes to mortuary practices including interment methods, the deposition of grave goods, culturally specific traditions, and a belief in some kind of afterworld scenario. On the whole, most burials, paradoxically and concurrently, represent both mortuary variability and uniformity—with the pageantry afforded to high ranking individuals easily identified and separated from markers of ritual and ceremony.

To date, scholarship has focused on mortuary variability, providing an important glimpse into ancient society, but it is only part of the mortuary puzzle. To complete the picture, mortuary uniformity should be added to scholarly interpretations, investigating the similarities that bound society and culture in order to form a more holistic understanding of ancient mortuary practices.

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Appendix A



Clustered and Nonclustered Burials in Tomb Chambers 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, and 16 at Ashkelon*

Burial Clusters**

Chamber	Location in Tomb	Burial No.	Age, Sex, and Description	Total
5	North Repository	114	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to east. Resting on rock floor of niche.	3
		113	Adult, male. Head to west. Located above 114.	
		112	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to east. Located above 113.	
	Hidden Burial Niche	127	Adult, female. Holding 131 in arms. Flexed.	2
		131	Infant. Held in the arms of 127. Flexed	
	Deep Repository	125	Child. Southwest ridge of niche. Flexed.	2
		147	Adult, undetermined sex. Northwest side of niche.	
	West Repository	115	Adult, male. Head to south. Resting on rock floor of niche. Flexed.	2
		116	Adult, female. Disturbed.	
	South Repository	NA	NA	NA
	East Burial Niche	81	Adult, male. Head to north. Located above 82-84. Supine-extended.	4
		82	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to north. Located west of 83, 84. Supine.	
		83	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to north. Located between 82,84. Supine	
		84	Adult, undetermined sex. Had to north. Located east of 82, 83. Supine.	

Continued

Appendix A: *continued*

Burial Clusters**				
Chamber	Location in Tomb	Burial No.	Age, Sex, and Description	Total
11	Sandy Burial Niche	140	Adult, male. Head to north. Located above 141. Supine	4
		141	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to north. Located next to 140.	
		142	Adult, male. Head to north. Located next to 140. Supine-flexed.	
		120	Child, undetermined sex. Located above 140-142. Disturbed.	
	Southwest corner	61 ???	Possibly adult, male. Head to north. West of 60. Supine.	3
		60	Child, male. Head to north. Next to left femur of 59.	
		59	Adult, female. Head to South. Above 60, 61. Supine-flexed.	
	North wall	185	Adult, male. Disturbed.	3
		166	Adult, undetermined sex. Disturbed.	
		99	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to west. Supine.	
13	West wall	121	Adult, male. Head to north. Directly above 122. Supine-flexed.	3
		122	Adult, male. Head to north. Directly below 121. Supine-flexed.	
		150	Adult, male (elderly). Head to north. below 122, 121. Supine-flexed.	
	East wall	180	Child, undetermined sex. East of 172. Disturbed.	8
		175	ca. 10 years, undetermined sex. Head to north. West of 172. Disturbed. Supine-flexed.	
		173	ca. 10 years, undetermined sex. Head to north. East of and under 172. Supine-extended.	
		172	ca. 15 years, undetermined sex. Head to north. Overlapping 173. Supine-flexed.	
		169	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to north. Disturbed. Above 172, 173. Supine-flexed.	
		178	Child, male. Disturbed. Next to 179 and 149.	
		179	Child, male. Disturbed. Next to 178 and 149.	
		149	Adult, female. Head to north. Next to 178, 179. Supine-flexed.	

Continued

Appendix A: *continued*

Burial Clusters**				
Chamber	Location in Tomb	Burial No.	Age, Sex, and Description	Total
14	West Wall	158	Adult, female. Head to north. Next to 157, facing him. Supine-flexed.	2
		157	Adult, male (older). Head to south. Next to 158, facing her. Supine-flexed.	
12 clusters, including 36 deposits, from five chambers.				36
Non-clustered Burials**				
8	NA	73	Adult, male. Head to north. Supine-extended.	1
16	Western side	106	Adult, undetermined sex. Head to north. Flexed (left side).	1
14	Northeastern side	126	Adult, female. Head to southeast. Flexed (left side).	1
16	Northern side	130	Adult, male. Head to east. Supine-flexed.	1
13	East wall	149	Adult, female. Head to north. Supine-flexed.	1

*It is important to note that this chart does not include all the burials identified in the chamber tombs at Ashkelon. The entire corpus of the physical remains will be presented in the Ashkelon final report series. Only those burials and clusters relevant to this discussion are included here. Additionally, data presented here should be considered as preliminary.

**Some of the clusters in this chart include both undisturbed and disturbed deposits. After careful consideration, I decided to include the disturbed deposits because they demonstrate the pushing aside, either in part or in whole, of earlier deposits in order to make room for newer ones. In several clusters the earlier interment was moved only slightly and the newer interment placed on top of or overlapping the earlier one (Clusters 169, 172, 173 and 121, 122, 150). This table is expanded from the one I presented in Levant (2010).

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Appendix B



The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan: Middle Bronze Age IIB (may also represent MB IIA/B transition)

Ceramic Type	Ashkelon	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Lachish	Gibeon	Far'ah (N)	Aphek	Kabri	Dan	Hazor
Carinated Bowls (small/medium)	1-3	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2
Platter/Open Bowls			1-2		1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2
Bowls - 3 looped feed					1-2				1-2
Goblets/Globular Bowls					1		1	1	1
RSB Juglets	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3
Dipper Juglets	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3			1-3	1-3
Jugs/Jars	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Storage Jars	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2
Cypriot WP Juglets		1					1		
Tell el-Yahudiyeh Juglets	1-2	1						1	1
Scarabs	1								
Toggle Pins	1								

The average types and quantities of ceramics found among burials from this time period. Data compiled from the following sources: Ashkelon Chamber 5, Burials 82 and 83 (Baker 2003, 2006), Tell el-ʿAjjul Tomb 1406A (Petrie 1932), Lachish Tomb 173 (Tufnell 1958), Gibeon Tomb 15 (Pritchard 1963:22-33, Figures 20-25), Tell el-Far'ah (North) Tomb AN (Mallett 1973:73-76), Aphek Tomb 428, 436, and 490 (Yadin and Kochavi 2002), Kabri 990 and 994 (Scheftelowitz and Gershuny 2002), Dan Tomb 187B (Ilan 1996), Hazor Tomb 1181 (Maier 1997:295-353).

The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan: Middle Bronze Age IIB-C

Ceramic Type	Ashkelon	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Farʿah (S)	Lachish	Gibeon	Humraiya	TA Harbor	Jericho	Farʿah (N)	Aphek	Kabri	Dan	Hazor
Carinated Bowls (sm.)	1-4	1-3	1-4	1-4	1-4		1-3	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4
Carinated Bowls	1-3		1-3	1-3	1-2		1-2	1-3	1-2			1-2	1-3
Rounded Bowls (small)	0-2	0-1					0-1		0-2				0-2
Bowls (two-handed)	0-1		0-1	0-1			0-1			0-1			
Platter Bowls	1-3		1-3	1-3	1-3		0-2	1-3	1-3	1-2	1-2	1-3	1-3
Krater - 3 looped feed					0-1			0-2	0-2				0-1
Goblets								1-3	1-3		0-3	0-3	
Globular					0-1			0-2	0-2		0-2	0-2	0-2
R/BSB Jugs	1-4	0-2		1-2	0-2	0-1	0-2	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-3	0-2	1-4
Dipper Jugs	1-3	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-3		0-2	1-3	1-3	0-2	1-2	1-2	1-2
Cylinder Jugs	1-3	0-1	1-2	0-2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1			0-1	0-1
Jugs/Jars	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1			0-1	0-1

Continued

Appendix B *continued*: The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan: Middle Bronze Age IIB-C

Ceramic Type	Ashkelon	Tell el-'Ajjul	Far'ah (S)	Lachish	Gibeon	Humraiya	TA Harbor	Jericho	Far'ah (N)	Aphek	Kabri	Dan	Hazor
Storage Jars	0-2	0-2	0-2	0-2	0-1		0-2	0-2	0-2			0-2	0-2
Lamps	0-2	0-2	0-2	0-1	0-1			0-1	0-1				
Cypriot WP Juglets	0-1	0-1				0-1			0-1		0-1		
Tell el-Yahudiyeh Juglets	0-2					0-1	0-1						
Toggle Pins	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1				
Scarabs			0-1	0-1	0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1				

The average types and quantities of ceramics found among burials from this time period. Data compiled from the following sources: Ashkelon Chambers 11, 8 (Baker 2003, 2006), Tell el-'Ajjul Tombs 303, 1405, and 1406 (Petrie 1932), Tell el-Far'ah (S) Tombs 550, 551, 554, and 570 (Price-Williams 1977) and 905 (Petrie 1932), Lachish Tombs 119 and 153 (Tufnell 1958), Gibeon Tomb 15 (Pritchard 1963:22-33), Dhaharah el-Humraiya Grave 2 (Ory 1948), Tel Aviv Harbor Tomb 5 (Kaplan 1955:1-12), Jericho Tombs B35, J3, and J14 (Kenyon 1960), Tell el-Far'ah (N) Tombs 3 (de Vaux 1948), Tomb AN (Mallett 1973:64-76), Tomb H (de Vaux 1949), Tomb X (de Vaux 1948), Aphek Tombs 490, 555, and 2121 (Yadin and Kochavi 2002), Kabri Tomb 498 (Schefelowitz and Gershuny 2002), Dan Tomb 187A and 349 (Ilan 1996), Hazor Tomb 1181 (Maier 1997:295-353).

The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan: Late Bronze Age I-II

Ceramic Type	Ashkelon	Tell el-'Ajjul	Far'ah (S)	Gezer	Lachish	Abu Hawam	Acco	Sarafend	Dothan	Sa'idiyeh	Beth Shean	Dan	Hazor
Carinated Bowls	0-3	0-3	0-3	0-3	0-3	0-3	0-3	0-3	0-3		0-3	0-3	0-3
Platter/Open Bowls	2-3		0-1	0-2	0-3	0-3	0-2			0-3	0-2	0-3	0-3
V-Shaped Bowls	0-2				0-2		0-1				0-1	0-2	0-2
Chalices					0-1				0-2		0-2	0-1	0-1
Dipper Juglets	0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1
Pitchers	0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1		0-1			0-1		0-1	0-1
Jugs/Jars					0-2	0-2						0-1	0-1
Store Jars			0-2		0-2	0-2	0-2			0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1
Lamps	0-1	0-1	0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1		0-1	0-1		0-1	0-1
Biconical Jugs	0-1								0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1
Kraters									0-1			0-1	
Cooking Pots												0-1	0-1
Pilgrim Flasks (domestic)	0-1						0-1				0-1	0-1	0-1
Pyxis (domestic)									0-2				
Cyp. Base Ring I/II Bowls	0-1					0-1	0-1	0-1					
Cyp. Base Ring I/II Jugs	0-1				0-1	0-1	0-1				0-1	0-1	

Continued

Appendix B continued: The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan: Late Bronze Age I-II

Ceramic Type	Ashkelon	Tell el-Ajjul	Far'ah (S)	Gezer	Lachish	Abu Hawam	Acco	Sarafend	Dothan	Sa'idiyeh	Beth Shean	Dan Hazor
Cyp. Base Ring I/II Juglets	0-1				0-1	0-1	0-1				0-1	0-1
Cyp. Base Ring Flask	0-1						0-1					
Cyp. Base Ring I/II Tankard	0-1											
Cyp. Monochrome Bowls	0-1											
Cyp. Monochrome Jugs	0-1											
Cyp. White Painted Bowls	0-1	0-1			0-1		0-1					0-1
Cyp. White Painted Juglets	0-1				0-1							
Cyp. Black Lustrous Juglets	0-2				0-1							
Cyp. White Shaved Dippers	0-1		0-1		0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1				0-1

Appendix B continued: The Funeral Kit in Wider Canaan: Late Bronze Age I-II

Ceramic Type	Ashkelon	Tell el-'Ajjul	Far'ah (S)	Gezer	Lachish	Abu Hawam	Acco	Sarafend	Dothan	Sa'idiyeh	Beth Shean	Dan	Hazor
Mycenaean Bowls								0-1				0-1	0-1
Mycenaean Pyxis	0-1		0-1				0-1				0-1	0-2	0-2
Mycenaean Stirrup Jars.	0-1		0-1			0-1		0-2			0-1	0-1	0-1
Mycenaean Piriform Jars	0-1					0-1	0-1	0-1			0-1	0-1	0-1
Mycenaean Pilgrim Flasks						0-1		0-1		0-1		0-1	0-1
Scarabs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Toggle Pins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

The average types and quantities of ceramics found among burials from this time period. Data compiled from the following sources: Ashkelon (Baker 2003, 2006), Tell el-'Ajjul Tomb 1166 (Petric 1932), Tell el-Far'ah (S) Tombs 905, 914, 920, and 960 (Starkey and Harding 1932), Tombs 550, 551, and 570 (Price-Williams 1977), Gezer Tomb 10a (Seger 1988:47-59), Lachish Tomb 1003 (Tufnell 1958:250-252), Abu Hawam Tomb 1 (Anati 1959), Acco Tombs A2, A3, and B3 (Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977), Sarafend (Baramki 1959, Gonen 1992:124), Tell Dothan Tomb 1 (Cooley and Pratico 1994), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Tombs 101, 102, 112, and 123 (Tubb 1988), Beth Shean Tomb 29 (Oren 1973:7 Figs. 39-40), Dan Tomb 387 (Ben-Dov 2002), Hazor Tombs 8065, and 8144-8145 (Yadin 1960).

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Appendix C



The burials cited below do not represent all the clustered interments found in the Middle and Late Bronze Age tombs of Canaan. Similarly, not every burial from each tomb is mentioned here. Additionally, most examples are from rock-cut, chamber tombs; however, in areas that lack bedrock, built tombs and pit graves also serve as suitable resources. These are the examples that best illustrate burial clusters in wider Canaan.

Burial Clusters in Wider Bronze Age Canaan

Site	Tomb No.	Period	Cluster ID	Sex, Age of Clustered Individuals and Comments	Total
Tell el-'Ajjul	263	MB	NA	Original plans and narrative lack	NA
	407	MB	NA	specific identification of individuals	NA
	411	MB	NA	in most cases; however, tomb	NA
	445	MB	NA	drawings indicate niches with usually one or two interments. Usually in supine-extended position with paired interments situated feet-to-feet (criss-cross); Petrie speculates these are husband and wife (Petrie 1932:4).	NA
	1166	LB	A	No sex or age of individuals reported. Plan suggests adults and children (?) (Petrie 1932, Pl. LIII). Five individuals next to and overlapping each other. Next to the rear, right-hand wall.	5
			B	No sex or age of individuals reported. Top plan suggests adults (?) (Petrie 1932, Pl. LIII). Two individuals overlapping. Next to front, left-hand wall.	2

Continued

Appendix C: *continued*

Burial Clusters in Wider Bronze Age Canaan					
Site	Tomb No.	Period	Cluster ID	Sex, Age of Clustered Individuals and Comments	Total
Tell el-‘Ajjul	1166		C	No sex or age of individuals reported. Top plan suggests adults (?) (Petrie 1932, Pl. LIII). Four individuals next to and overlapping. In niche at rear, left-hand wall.	4
			D,E,F	No sex or age of individuals reported. Top plan suggests adults (?) (Petrie 1932, Pl. LIII). Three individuals next to and overlapping. In niche at rear, right-hand wall.	3
	1514	LB	NA	Two adults one child. Adults side-by-side, child next to one adult. Earlier burials pushed aside. All supine-extended.	3
Aphek	2127	MB	NA	Pit burial of an adult, female with a 1.5 year old infant and a 3-6 year old child. Adult flexed. (Kochavi 2000:143).	3
Beth Shean	29	LB	NA	Four chambered/bayed tomb. Bays A, B, C each contained one burial. Not necessarily clear clustering; however, burials are in separate zones or bays (Oren 1973:7).	NA
	27	LB	NA	Chamber A=1 burial; Chamber B=3 burials; Chamber C=3 burials	NA
Dan	8096	MB	NW Wall	Adult male, adult female, child between the adults, and possible juvenile in secondary position. (Ilan 1996:194–200).	3
Tell el-Far‘ah South	905	LB	A,B,C	No sex or age of individuals reported. Supine-extended. Plan suggests children (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Three individuals side-by-side on bench to the right of entrance.	3
			D	No sex or age of individual reported. Supine-extended. Plan suggests an adult (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). One individual positioned at the feet of A,B,C.	1

Continued

Appendix C: *continued*

Burial Clusters in Wider Bronze Age Canaan					
Site	Tomb No.	Period	Cluster ID	Sex, Age of Clustered Individuals and Comments	Total
Tell el-Far'ah South	905		E	No sex or age of individual reported. Supine-extended. Plan suggests an adult(s) (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). One individual positioned next to the left-hand wall. Possibly associated with another individual?	1
	914	LB	A,B,C	No sex or age of individuals reported. Supine-extended. Plan suggests adults and child (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Three individuals: A, B side-by-side; C under head of B. Located next to the right-hand (southern) wall.	3
			D,E,	No sex or age of individuals reported. Supine-extended. Plan suggests adults (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Two individuals, side-by-side. Next to rear wall.	2
			F,G	No sex or age of individuals reported. Supine-extended. Plan suggests adults (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Two individuals, side-by-side. Next to left-hand (northern) wall.	1
	960	LB	J,K	Sex and age unknown. Supine-extended. Plan suggests children (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Two individuals, side-by-side, perpendicular to west wall, south of entrance.	2
			E,F,G,H	Sex and age unknown. Supine-extended. Plan suggests adults and child (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Four Individuals, side-by-side, perpendicular to southeast wall.	4
			A,B,C	Sex and age unknown. Supine-extended. Plan suggests adult and children (?) (Starkey and Harding Pl. LIX). Three individuals, side-by-side, perpendicular to northeast wall.	3

Continued

Appendix C: *continued*

Burial Clusters in Wider Bronze Age Canaan					
Site	Tomb No.	Period	Cluster ID	Sex, Age of Clustered Individuals and Comments	Total
Tell el-Far'ah North	AN	MB	NA	Two adult females, 1 infant. Two adults side-by-side; one supine-flexed with infant between legs the other one supine-extended.	3
	AM	MB	NA	Two adults. Supine-extended. Two adults head-to-head, with torso and feet extending away from each other.	2
	3	MB	NA	RB 1949 56:102–138. Three burial clusters.	NA
Gibeon	57	MB	A,D	Two adults. Supine-extended. Near entrance, side-by-side.	2
			B	One infant. Supine-extended. Between Individual D and platform.	1
			C	One Adult. Supine-extended. Earlier burial swept aside.	1
Gezer	10A	MB-LB	NA	Children clustered in and around sarcophagus 10071. One adult (No. 4) placed on top of two children, one male and one female (Nos. 2 and 3 respectively). Exact clustering difficult to determine; however, ordering (secondary ?) of individuals within the tomb may be observed.	NA
Tell Jedur		LB II	NA	Tomb with multiple burials, on top of and over lapping (Gonen 1992:66–67). Some burials were separated by a row of stones.	NA
Jericho	J14	MB	P,F	Adult, child. Probably supine-extended. Both on mudbrick platform.	2
			C,L	Adults? Probably supine-flexed. Two adults facing each other; one head to north, other to south. North of platform next to rear (north) wall.	2
			K,J	Adults ? Probably supine-flexed. Two adults (?) near rear (north) wall.	2
	H6	MB	A	Adult male. On mudbrick platform, supine-flexed.	1
			B,C	Adult female (?) and child. Supine-extended. Kenyon suggests A, B, C, and D form a family unit (1960:454).	2

Continued

Appendix C: *continued*

Burial Clusters in Wider Bronze Age Canaan					
Site	Tomb No.	Period	Cluster ID	Sex, Age of Clustered Individuals and Comments	Total
Kabri			D	Younger child at rear of chamber behind platform. Supine-flexed.	1
	990	MB	NA	Pit burial. Young adult and young child. Flexed. Heads to east. (Kempinski 2002:30)	2
Megiddo	251	MB		Adult female, flexed on left side, head to west-northwest. Holds child also flexed. Another smaller child, flexed, head to west at her feet (Guy 1938:57–59).	3
Tell es-Sa'idiyeh	911	LB II	Ch. B	Two adults, one child. Supine-extended. Three individuals side-by-side. Heads to south, feet to north.	3
			Ch. C	Two adults. Supine-extended. Two individuals side-by-side. Heads to west, feet to east.	2
	1100	LB I	Ch. A	Three adults. Supine-extended. Three individuals side-by-side. Heads to the west.	3
			Ch. D	One adult. Supine-extended. Head to the west, with legs extending into A.	1
	108	LB	NA	Two individuals with third skull. Heads to north. Supine-extended. (Pritchard 1980:18).	3
	123	LB	NA	Adult, female with child (1–2 years) lying on right shoulder. Heads to west. (Pritchard 1980:23).	2
	128	LB	NA	Adult, undetermined sex, with child on left shoulder. Supine-extended. Head to west. (Pritchard 1980:24)	2
	136	LB	NA	Two adults, one child. Two adults on top of each other, child in front of the upper adult. Supine-extended. Heads to the west. (Pritchard 1980:26).	3

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Notes



1. Conversely, critics of this interpretation have suggested that a person becomes in death that which he/she may not have been in life (Hodder 1982:146; Parker Pearson 1982, O'Shea 1984:3; Morris 1987:38–40; Richards 2005:57), implying that the funerary ceremony, grave type, architecture, and grave goods may exaggerate the individual's actual status in their particular community.
2. Yasur-Landau 1992:238–239.
3. Yassur-Landau 1992:238–239.
4. While a discussion about garment types in the mortuary context may be beneficial, it would be off the topic and is beyond the scope of this study.
5. Although written later, references from the Old Testament probably reflect earlier well-established and long-standing Canaanite traditions.
6. A more detailed discussion of *marzēaḥ* shall be undertaken below.
7. Alternatively, this prohibition may have been directed at the prophets (Jeremiah 16:5–8) since they were “forbidden to live a normal life as a sign of the impending disaster about to befall the nation” (Lewis 1989:138).
8. Cf. FN 7.
9. These benches may have been used for reclining and/or the placement of food and drink rather than for sitting upon during a time of worship. For example, the dining rooms of the later Greeks and Romans were homogenous in design, scale, and furniture: a square room with an off-center doorway; couches along three walls; and a center table, which was close enough to the couches for a reclining individual to reach. The size of the dining room and accoutrements were commensurate with public or private dining, with the former being larger to accommodate more people and the latter being smaller for fewer diners (Dunbabin 2001, 2003). Perhaps, given the proximity of the benches to the walls and to each other in the Fosse Temple III at Lachish, these functioned as reclining installations rather than as seats (Bietak 2003:165).
10. Although intriguing, comparison of ceramic types between the above-mentioned structures and tomb assemblages is beyond the scope of this research and will have to await a future publication.
11. I remain deeply grateful to L. E. Stager and the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon for allowing me to develop the funeral kit model based on data recovered from the Middle and Late Bronze Age tomb complex and to include

some of it here. It is because L. E. Stager allowed me generous access to the data that I have been able to clearly and thoughtfully formulate the basis for this theory. I am also indebted to A. Brody, S. L. Cohen, A. Appa and Ashkelon Volunteers for their meticulous attention to detail when excavating the burial deposits. It is important to note, the interpretation of the mortuary evidence from Ashkelon presented in this work does not necessarily reflect that of the Leon Levy Expedition and I accept full responsibility for the interpretation offered here. It should be noted again that this work must be considered preliminary and not as a final report on the Ashkelon tomb complex. The data presented here should be considered preliminary and subject to change. Once analysis is complete, the entire corpus of material will be presented in the Ashkelon final report series.

12. Much of the discussion and data in this chapter is a necessary reiteration and update of material that I have previously presented (2003, 2006, 2010) in order to establish a foundation for the funeral kit in this work.
13. While scarabs and toggle pins are often interpreted as personal items (Palumbo 1987; Yassur-Landau 1992), their repeated presence in this context suggests they were in some way integral to the funerary ritual and, therefore, to the funeral kit. This will be discussed in greater detail below.
14. It should be noted that the burials discussed here do not represent the entire corpus of those interred in the Ashkelon tombs. A wider discussion and more detailed analysis of the physical remains will be presented in the Ashkelon final report series. At present, the preliminary minimum number of individuals found in the tomb complex at Ashkelon is approximately 195 (preliminary findings from P. Smith of the Biological Anthropology and Ancient DNA, The Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Dental Medicine). As a result of further analysis, the MNI may change. From the current MNI, 101 primary/primary-disturbed groups (51.8%) could be associated with ceramic assemblages, of these 46 (46%) provided useful information. In addition, 119 secondary depositional groups could be identified; of these, 12 (10%) provided useful information. These 46 primary/primary-disturbed and 12 secondary depositional groups, compiled from the field notes, top plans, and photographs, served as the foundation upon which the funeral kit at Ashkelon was observed (this information updates Baker 2003 and 2006).
15. Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware is one of the ceramic indicators used to determine the establishment of the Ashkelon tombs. The earliest occurrence of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware in Ashkelon's settlement areas was in the gate complex on the northern part of the tell, Gate 1/Phase 14 (ca. 1800–1750 BCE). Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware appeared in all four phases of the gate complex (Gate 2/Phase 13, ca. 1750–1710 BCE; Gate 3/Phase 12, ca. 1710–1650 BCE; Gate 4/Phase 11, ca. 1620–1560 BCE) and in the Moat Deposits of Phases 14 and 13. One of the earliest Tell el-Yahudiyeh types deposited in the Ashkelon tomb complex may be dated to the MB IIA/B transition and corresponds to Tell el-Yahudiyeh forms found in Gate 3/Phase 12 (the MB IIA/B transition period; Voss 2002; Bietak, Kopetzky, Stager, and Voss 2008; Stager and Voss forthcoming (I am grateful to L. E. Stager for sharing an advanced copy of this manuscript)). Even though Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware appears in the earlier phases of the gate

- complex (MB IIA/B), imported vessels such as these do not appear in the funeral kit assemblages until later, in the early MB IIB period (this information updates Baker 2003 and 2006). For more detailed stratigraphic discussion see Stager, et al., 2008:300–305.
16. See Stager, et al., 2008:299–318 for a detailed discussion regarding the stratigraphy of Grid 50. The full extent of the tomb complex will be determined when the remainder of Grid 50 and the surrounding area are excavated. The tomb chambers were located below a layer of fill that dates to the 7th century BCE. Once this sizable layer was removed it became clear that extensive quarrying removed much of the sandstone block into which the tombs were carved; including many of the chambers' roofs. A comprehensive analysis of the tombs will be presented in the Ashkelon final report series.
 17. During excavation each chamber was given a separate number; however, each room within each sub-complex functioned in concert with the others as a single tomb. For stratigraphy and dating see discussion in Stager, et al., 2008:299–318; see also Baker 2006:7–8 and 2010.
 18. However, once the chambers were filled and space within the chamber was limited, individuals were placed across the central floor of each chamber as well as the central room (Chamber 14).
 19. In this study, primary and primary-disturbed depositional groups (also referred to as burials) are represented by skeletons that remained essentially articulated in their original or nearly original burial positions, with associated grave goods either in, or close to what may have been initial placement around the body as found at the time of excavation. A secondary depositional group represents a burial that was swept aside in order to make room for a new interment or where the skeletal remains largely disintegrated leaving only the grave goods in place. The compilation of each funeral kit was based on the location of the components at the time of excavation as recorded in the field notebooks, on the top plans, and in photographs.
 20. Detailed analysis and discussion of the ceramic corpus from the tomb complex will be presented in the Ashkelon final report series.
 21. See description of the four phases of the MB IIA in S. Cohen 2002:53–69.
 22. Some scholars attribute red-slipped and burnished piriform juglets with a button base to Phase 4 of the MB IIA, e.g., Epstein 1974; Beck 1975:66–82; 2000a:114; 2000b:181, 195–96 214–15; Gerstenblith 1980:72–3, Figure 2; S. Cohen 2002:53–69.
 23. See notes 14 and 19.
 24. These graphics attempt to reconstruct the position of the skeleton and grave goods as they were discovered at the time of excavation in order to provide a visual illustration of the deposit with as much accuracy as possible.
 25. Ceramic illustrations and photographs of scarabs and toggle pins are courtesy of L. E. Stager and the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.
 26. The use of bowl-lamps has been observed by Kenyon at Jericho in Tomb B3 (1960:396, Pl. XIX:4) where she describes them as “sherd lamps” and at Hazor in Tomb 1181 (Maier 1997:299–301, Figure 4.3:1, 17).
 27. Toggle pins are considered to have been used to secure the closure of a garment over the shoulder and may have also been used to affix a seal to one's

- person (Henschel-Simon 1938; Kenyon 1960:266; Gruber 1995:641–642; Irvin 1997:39).
28. The scarabs will be presented in greater detail in the Ashkelon final report series. See also D. Ben-Tor's studies of scarabs in Palestine (1991; 1994; 1997; 2003; 2007), which provide a valuable chronological framework into which the Ashkelon scarabs can be placed.
 29. See Baker 2003, 2006.
 30. The substances contained within these juglets remains unknown. Perhaps future analysis will identify the commodity(ies), which will enable a more precise in the interpretation of this practice.
 31. See Chapter two for discussion of *marzēaḥ*.
 32. A detailed study of the Ashkelon scarabs will not be undertaken in this work; although, it should be noted that the Ashkelon scarabs fit into the categories discussed by D. Ben-Tor (2007). The scarabs will be analyzed and discussed in the Ashkelon final report series.
 33. cf. Chapter two: The Scarab.
 34. As with the human remains and the scarabs, the toggle pins will be analyzed and discussed in the Ashkelon final report series. The data presented here is preliminary and subject to change. cf. Chapter two: Toggle Pins.
 35. The flora and fauna of the Ashkelon tombs will be analyzed and discussed in the Ashkelon final report series.
 36. At present the preliminary information available indicates the age and sex of the individuals identified thus far. Perhaps future analysis will be able to provide data regarding DNA, mtDNA, and so forth, which would help to determine more accurately the relationship of those interred in these tombs and in these clusters.
 37. Gonen suggests that the purpose of the later use of "loculi seem[s] to aim at preserving the bodily identity of each individual, but at the same time they reflect the family or community concept" (Gonen 1992:24).
 38. It is assumed here that built tombs, such as those from Dan and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, performed a function similar to rock-cut tombs in the absence of bedrock.
 39. See also Baker, 2010. This section reiterates and updates some of the information from that article.
 40. See Chapter one for definitions and discussion of the family and clan.
 41. As with the discussion of burial clusters in Chapter three, identification and discussion of the individuals that make up these clusters will be limited to age and sex. DNA testing was not available to the directors of older excavations and it tends to be cost prohibitive to most modern expeditions as well. Thus, data in regard to DNA, mtDNA, and biodistance, was limited to unavailable. Nevertheless, such information would be extremely useful when determining the relationship between interments both intra and intertomb. The acquisition and application of such data in the future will make for a valuable study and would enhance this analysis greatly.
 42. Banqueting and the purpose of sharing a meal have been previously discussed in Chapter two.
 43. Additionally, some inscribed names appear to be those of individuals not related to the owners/occupants of the tombs.

44. This is another instance where DNA analysis could help identify familial relationships.
45. Others have applied basic mortuary models to a variety of cultures from a wide range of time periods (Binford 1970, 1972; Gallou 2005; Keswani 2004; O'Shea 1984; Parker-Pearson 2005; Saxe 1970, Peebles 1971; van Gennepe 1960; Wason 2004).
46. The origin of Etruscan rock-cut, chamber tombs has long been debated. Interestingly, the tombs of Cerveteri, ca. 700–500 BCE, such as Tomb 8 of the Beds and Sarcophagi, Tomb of the Shields and Chairs, Tomba della Ripa, Tomb 9 of the Greek Vases, Tomb of the Potter's Clay, Tomb 329, Tomb 386 all display a layout and architectural features that are strikingly similar to tombs from Jerusalem from the Late First Temple period including Burial Cave 24 at Ketef Hinnom (Barkay 1994:93–96) and the burial caves of St. Étienne Monastery (Barkay, Kloner, Mazar 1994:119–127).
47. Similar drinking sets, including a pitcher, bowl, and a strainer have been found among burials from the Southern Levant. A bronze drinking set was discovered at Deir el-Balah in tomb 114 (Dothan 1979:5–27). Another drinking set made of ceramic was discovered in Tomb 8 with Burial 73 at Ashkelon (see above Chapter 3). A third drinking set, this one made of bronze, was discovered at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in Tomb 11 (Pritchard 1980:10–14).

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Chronology of the Ancient Near East



Note: the following dates are approximate and do not reflect support of one chronological interpretation over another.

Canaan

(after Mazar 1990 and Stern 1993)

Early Bronze Age (EB)	3300–2300 BCE
Early Bronze I (EB I)	3300–3050 BCE
Early Bronze II–III (EB II–III)	3050–2300 BCE
Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze Age 1 (EB IV/MB I)	2300–2000 BCE
Middle Bronze Age (MB)	2000–1550 BCE
Middle Bronze IIA (MB IIA)	2000–1750 BCE
Middle Bronze IIB–C (MB IIB–C)	1750–1550 BCE
Late Bronze Age (LB)	1550–1200 BCE
Late Bronze I (LB I)	1200–1400 BCE
Late Bronze II (LB II)	1400–1200 BCE
Iron Age (IA)	1200–586 BCE
Iron Age I (IA I)	1200–1000 BCE
Iron Age II A (IA IIA)	1000–925 BCE
Iron Age II B–C	925–586 BCE
Babylonian and Persian	586–332 BCE
Babylonian	586–530 BCE
Persian	530–332 BCE

Hellenistic	332–37 BCE
Roman	37 BCE–324 CE
Byzantine	324–638

Egypt

(after Richards 2005)

Pre-Dynastic	4800–3100 BCE
Badarian	4800–4200 BCE
Naqada	4200–3100 BCE
Early Dynastic	3100–2750 BCE
Dynasty I	3100–2900 BCE
Dynasty II	2900–2750 BCE
Old Kingdom	2750–2260 BCE
Dynasty III	2750–2680 BCE
Dynasty IV	2680–2544 BCE
Dynasty V	2544–2407 BCE
Dynasty VI	2407–2260 BCE

Cyprus

(after Keswani 2004)

Neolithic	Late 10th/9th millennia BP–3900 BCE
Late Aceramic Neolithic	8200–5500 BCE
Ceramic Neolithic	5500–3900 BCE
Chalcolithic	3900–2400 BCE
Bronze Age	
Early Cypriot (EC I–III)	2300–1950 BCE
Middle Cypriot (MC I–III)	1950–1650 BCE
Late Cypriot I–III (LC I–III)	1650–1050 BCE

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